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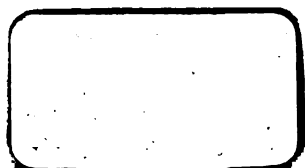
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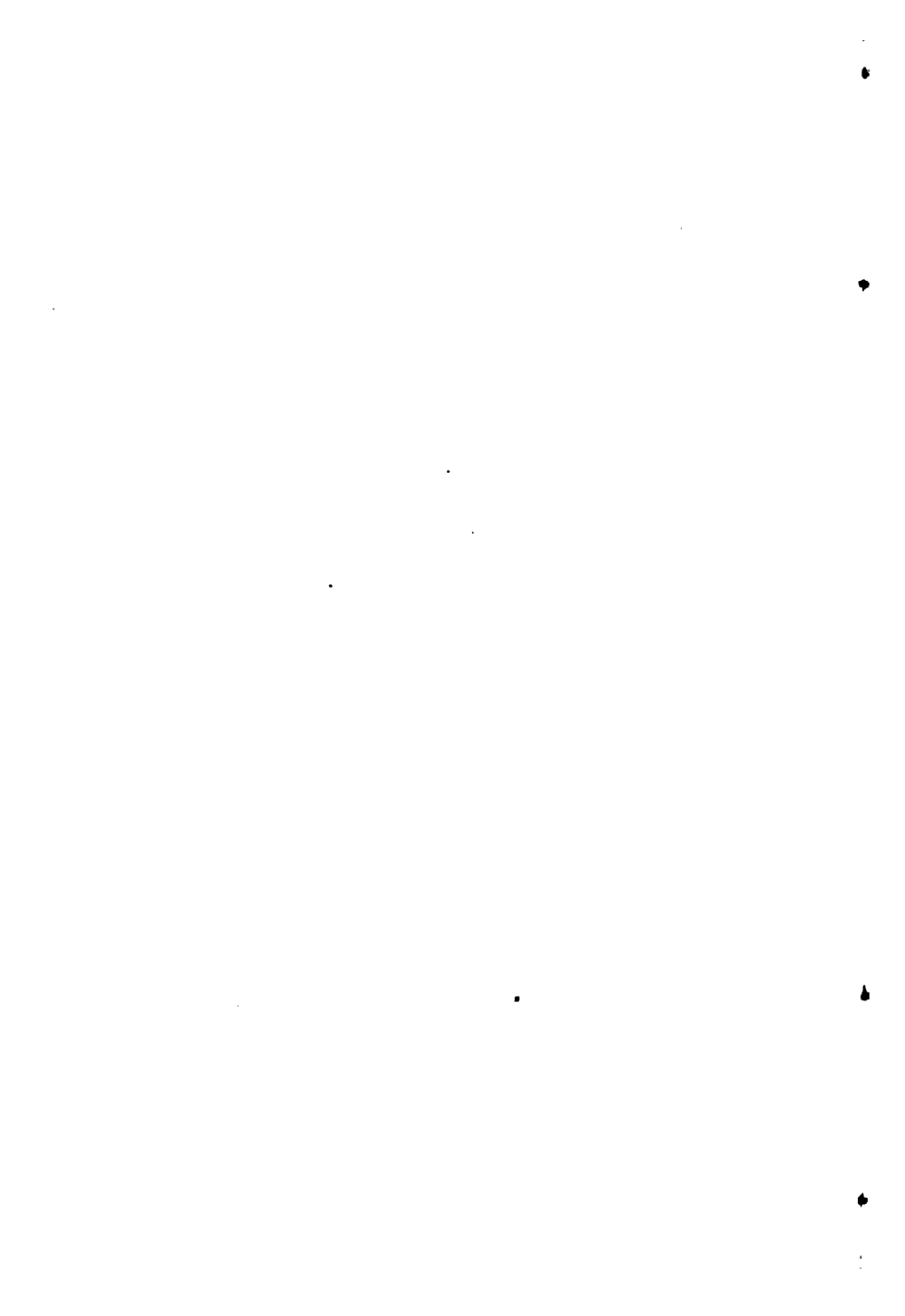




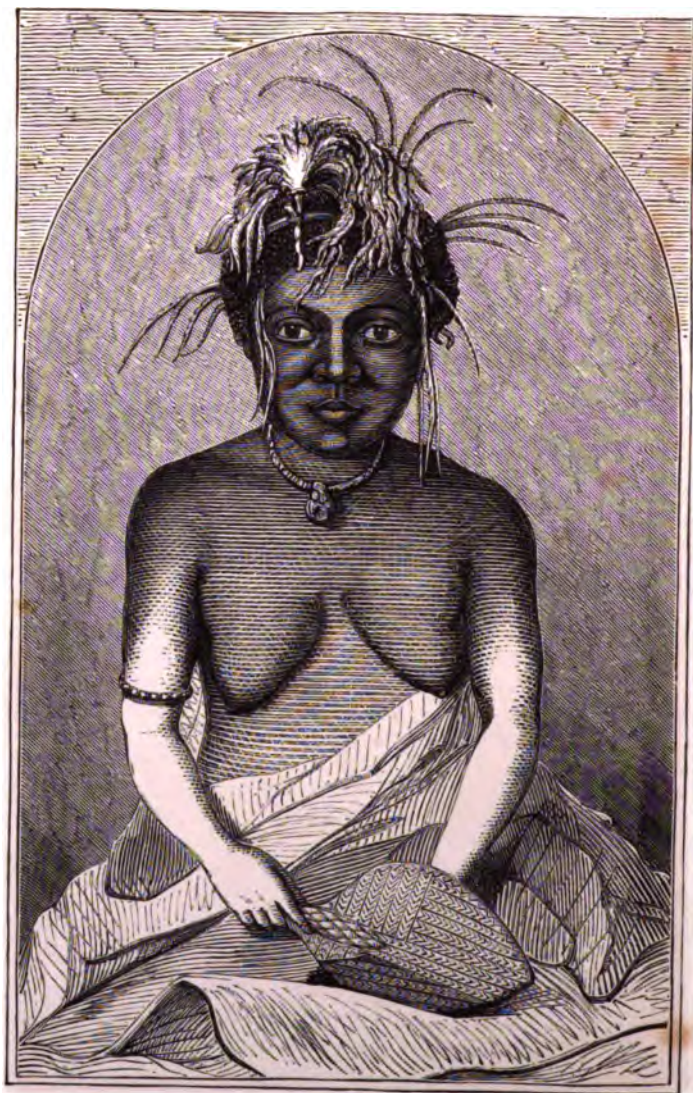




**NARRATIVE**  
**OF**  
**THE UNITED STATES EXPLORING**  
**EXPEDITION.**







QUEEN OF REWA.

NARRATIVE  
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THE UNITED STATES EXPLORING  
EXPEDITION,

DURING THE YEARS 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842.

—◆—  
BY CHARLES WILKES, U.S.N.  
Commander of the Expedition.



IN TWO VOLUMES, WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

VOL. II.

INGRAM, COOKE, AND CO. 227, STRAND.  
1852.

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# CONTENTS.

## CHAPTER I.

	Page
TONGATABOO . . . . .	1

Departure from New Zealand—Halo Parhella—Sunday Island—Ship Tobacco Plant—Water Spouts—Arrival of Tongataboo—Threatened War—Offered Mediation—Landing and Reception—Native Warriors—King Josiah—King George—Council Called—Its Proceedings—Cause of Hostilities—Ambition of King George—Messenger sent to the Heathen Party—Mr. and Mrs. Tucker—King George's Town—His House and Furniture—Return of the Messenger—Arrival of the Heathen Chiefs—Feelings of the Heathen of Tonga—Mumui—Departure of the Heathen Chiefs—Visit of the King to the Vincennes—Their Canoe—Canoes of the Tongese—Boat Song—Native Music—Interview with the Kings—Failure of the Mediation—Visit to Moa—Religion of the Heathens—Natives of Rotuma—Appearance and Dress of the Tongese—Their Character—Tamahas—Sport of Rat Catching—Feejee Warrior—Council of War—Population of the Islands—Missionary Operations—Feats of the Tongese in Swimming—Geological Structure of Tonga—Vegetation—Cultivation—Productions—Climate—Diseases—Arrival of the Porpoise—Native Pilots—Arrival of the Peacock—Her Repairs at Sydney—Difficulties attending them—Passage of the Peacock from New South Wales—Royal Family of Tonga—Termination and Result of the War—Intercourse between the Feejee and Tonga Islands—Tom Granby.

## CHAPTER II.

FEEJEE GROUP—ISLAND OF OVOLAU . . . . .	26
---	----

Departure from Tongataboo—The Porpoise detached—Entrance into the Feejee Group—Arrival at Levuka—Tui Levuka—Message sent to King Tanoa—Tender of the Ship Leonidas—Excursion to the Peak of Andulong—Arrival of Tanoa—His reception at Levuka—His Visit to the Vincennes—His adoption of the Rules and Regulations—His Suite—His Second Visit—Districts of Ovolau—Labours of Tui Levuka—Ruling Power in Ovolau—Town of Levuka—Districts of the Feejee Group—Recent History of Ambau—Introduction of Fire-arms—Reign of Ulivou—Accession of Lanoa—War with Rewa—Rebellion against Tanoa—His triumphal Return—Disturbances between Ambau and Rewa—Preparations for making a Garden—Visit from Seru—His reception on board the Vincennes—Visit from Paddy Connel—His History.

## CHAPTER III.

CUSTOMS OF THE FEEJEE GROUP . . . . .	42
---------------------------------------	----

Introductory Remarks—Personal Appearance of the Natives—Their Expression of Countenance—Their Character—Division of Tribes and Rank—Vasus—Feejee Wars—Ceremonies in Declaring War—Addresses to the Warriors—Flags—Fortifications

	Page
—Stages—Mode of Suing for Peace—Ceremonies of a Capitulation—Subject Tribes—Religion—Tradition of the Origin of Races and of a Deluge—Gods—Belief in Spirits—Ndengel, their Supreme God—His Sons—Inferior Gods—Other Religious Opinions—Idea of a Second Death—Mbures, or Spirit-Houses—Ambati, or Priests—Their Jugglery—Their Influence—Oracle at Levuka—Sacrifices—Religious Festivals—Marriages—Infidelity and its Punishment—Births—Consequences of the Religious Belief—Parents put to Death—Suicide—Wives Strangled at Funerals—Deformed and Diseased Persons put to Death—Human Sacrifices—Funeral Rites—Mourning—Cannibalism—Price of Human Life—Attacks on Foreign Vessels.	

## CHAPTER IV.

## CUSTOMS OF THE FEEJEE GROUP (CONTINUED) . . . . . 68

Climate—Soil—Population—Language—Salutations—Diseases—Amusements—Messages—Employments—Politeness—Distribution of Time—Toilets—Dress—Tattooing—Houses—Canoes—Productions—Divisions of Time—Ceremony—Arms.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE FEEJEE GROUP—REWA . . . . . 74

Departure of the Peacock from Levuka—Her arrival at the anchorage of Nukalou—Vendovi—Case of the Charles Doggett—Ambau—Mission of Lieutenant Budd—Thokanauto, or Mr. Phillips—Visit of the King and his Brothers—Visit of Captain Hudson to Rewa—The King's House—His mode of eating—His entertainment of the Ship's Officers—Messenger from Kantavu—Ceremony of Ava Drinking—King's Cupbearer—Exhibition of Fireworks—Nocturnal Adventure—Royal Breakfast—Country around Rewa—Ngaraningiou's House—Likenesses taken by Mr. Agate—Tribute from the People of Kantavu—Captain Hudson resolves to take Vendovi—Visit of the King and Queen—Ngaraningiou—The King, Queen, and Chiefs made prisoners—Ngaraningiou undertakes to bring Vendovi—Case of the Currency Lass—Disposition of the Prisoners—Theatricals for their entertainment—Phillips relates the History of Rewa—Character of Phillips—Return of Ngaraningiou with Vendovi—Leave-taking between Vendovi and his Brothers—Visit from Mr. Cargill—Sailing of the Peacock.

## CHAPTER VI.

## FEEJEE GROUP (CONTINUED) . . . . . 92

Effects of the intention to take Vendovi—Fear of an attack on the Observatory—Seru detained as Hostage—Preparations for resistance—Town of Somu-Somu—Missionaries—Cannibal Feast—Junction with the Porpoise—Council of Chiefs—Ceremonies of Ava Drinking—Proceedings of the Porpoise between 8th of May and 9th of June—Visit to Lakemba—Tul Neau—Argo Reef—Ascent of Kendi-Kendi—Levukians—Geological structure of Lakemba—Island of Munia—Its highest Peak ascended—Islands of Tiombia, Susui, &c.—Porpoise arrives at Somu-Somu—Return to Levuka—H.B.M. Schooner Starling—Visit to Captain Belcher—His opinion of the Regulations—Nukulau Islands surveyed by Lieutenant Underwood—Town of Corobamba—Island of Angau—Return of Lieutenant Underwood—Native Club Dance—Vincennes leaves Levuka—Direction Island—Dangers of the Passage to Savu-Savu—Ambush of the Natives—Bay of Savu-Savu—Hot Springs—Island of Goro and Horseshoe Reef—Vincennes and Peacock anchor in Sandalwood Bay.

## CHAPTER VII.

	Pag
THE FEEJEE GROUP (CONCLUDED) . . . . .	10
<p>Peacock at Vatulele—Island of Malaki—Sandalwood Bay—Dimba-Dimba Point—Nalca Bay—Town of Muthuata—Peacock joins the Vincennes in Mbus Bay—State of the Surveys—Capture of the First Cutter by the Natives in Sualib Bay—Measures taken in consequence—Attack on the Town of Tye, its Destruction—Remarks thereon—Release of Prisoners—Fresh Surveys made—Ananga Island—The Porpoise joins the Tender and Boats—Boats rejoin—Melancholy news—Murder at Malolo of Lieutenant Underwood and Midshipman Henry—History of the Massacre—Burial of the Slain—Preparations for an Attack on Malolo—Arro Burnt—Submission of the Chiefs and People—Reflections thereon—Preparations for leaving the Feejee Group.</p>	

## CHAPTER VIII.

HAWAIIAN GROUP, OR SANDWICH ISLANDS . . . . .	130
<p>The Squadron parts company—Passage of the Vincennes to the Island of Oahu—M'Kean's Island—Hull's Island—Enderby's Island—Arrival at Oahu—General appearance of Oahu—Dress of the Inhabitants of Honolulu—General appearance of the Town—Arrival of the Peacock and Porpoise at Oahu—Vatou, or Turtle Island—Plans for the future operations of the Squadron—Expiration of the Men's Time—Reshipment of Seamen—Duties assigned to the several Vessels—Interview with King Kamehameha III.—Dress of Kekauluohi—Visit to the King—His gentlemanly bearing—His Conversation—Saturday in Honolulu—Demure character of the Hawaiian Boys—Cruise of the Tender to Kauai—Island of Kauai—Port of Waimea—Island of Niihau.</p>	

## CHAPTER IX.

HAWAIIAN GROUP (CONTINUED) . . . . .	140
<p>The Tender is despatched to Hawaii—Cruise of the Tender to Hawaii—Western Coast of Hawaii—Place where Captain Cook was killed—Excursion of the Naturalists—Ancient Temple of Kaili—Return of the Naturalists—Plan for the further operations of the Squadron—The Vincennes sails for Hawaii—Island of Hawaii—Mountain of Mauna Loa—Village of Hilo—Ascent of Mauna Loa—Description of the Party—Volcano of Kilauea—Appearance of the Crater—Summit of Mauna Loa—Pendulum Peak—Survey of Kilauea—Dr. Judd's Adventure—Eruption of Judd's Crater—Blowing Cone—Eruption of 1840—Sand Hills of Nanaville—Return to Hilo.</p>	

## CHAPTER X.

HAWAIIAN GROUP (CONCLUDED) . . . . .	166
<p>Departure of the Vincennes from Hilo Bay—Island of Maui—King's Palace—Town of Lahaina—Private Apartments of the King—Seminary of Wailuku—Lieutenant Budd's Account of the loss of Boat—Visit to the Seminary of Lahainaluna—Lahaina—Industry of the Inhabitants—East Maui—Crater of Haleakala's—Native Vices—Islands of Lanai and Molokai—The Vincennes and Porpoise at Honolulu—Cruise of the Porpoise in the Paumotu Group—Experiments made—Penrhyn Island—The Porpoise returns to Honolulu.</p>	

## CHAPTER XI.

## OREGON . . . . .

Page  
176

Departure from Oahu—Bar of the Columbia River—Point Grenville—Destruction Isle—Straits of Juan de Fuca—Indians visit the Ship—Port Discovery—Port Townsend—Port Lawrence—Pilot's Cove—Fort Nisqually—Anchorage off Nisqually—Expedition to the Columbia River—Cowlitz River—Oak Point—Astoria—Vancouver—Willamette Valley—Mode of catching Salmon—Salmon Fisheries—The Dalles—Return to Nisqually—Progress of the Surveying Parties.

## CHAPTER XII.

## DE FUCA'S STRAITS AND LOSS OF THE PEACOCK . . . 187

Fears for the Peacock—Progress of the Surveys—Neah Harbour—Classet Indians—De Fuca's Pillar—Cape Disappointment—Particulars of the Loss of the Peacock—New Disposition of the Squadron—The Vincennes sails for San Francisco.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## CRUISE OF THE PEACOCK AND FLYING-FISH . . . 196

Washington Island—Jarvis's Island—Duke of York's Island—Duke of Clarence's Island—Bowditch Island discovered—Swain's Island—Island of Opolu in the Samoan Group—Apia Harbour—Attempt to capture Tagi, a murderer—Determination of the Chiefs and People to protect Tagi—Towns of Saluafata, Fusi, and Saleless reduced to ashes in consequence—Effects of the example—Ellice's Group of Islands—Kingsmill Group of Islands—The Peacock and Flying-Fish at the Bar of the Columbia.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE KINGSMILL ISLANDERS. 211

The Kingsmill Group—Islands of which it is composed—Their General Character—Their Soil—Taro Ponds—Tradition of the Origin of the People—Ancient intercourse between the Islands—Physiognomy and appearance of the Natives—Their Social State—Government—Descent of Property—Religious Belief—Priests—Oracles—Omens—Pretended Communication with Spirits—Belief in a Future State—Their Mode of Life—Their Character—Their Treatment of Children, of the Aged, and of Women—Their Wars—Cannibalism not practised—Their Weapons—Their Houses and Canoes—Their Manufactures—Dress—Ornaments—Their Food—Their Mode of Cooking—Their Amusements—Their Marriages—Mode of giving Names—Tattooing—Funeral Ceremonies—Diseases—Climate of the Group—Earthquakes—Contrast between Pitt's and the other Islanders.

## CHAPTER XV.

## OREGON AND CALIFORNIA . . . . . 226

Survey of Columbia River—Pilots—Dalles—Fort Wallawalla—Mission of Dr. Whitman—Medicine Woman—Accident at the Dalles—Climate—Fort Colville—Eastern Section—Western Section—Methodist Mission—Indian Population—Mouth of Columbia—Arrival of the Porpoise at San Francisco—Yerba Buena—General appearance of California—Climate—Valley of the Sacramento—The Sierra—The San Joaquin—Productions—Sheep and Hogs—Mouth of the Feather River—Elk Herds—Survey of the Sacramento—Country round the Bay of San Pablo—City of Zacoma—General Vallejo.

CHAPTER XVI.

SAN FRANCISCO TO MANILLA . . . . . 239

Preparations for Sailing—Departure from San Francisco—Dangerous Position of the Vincennes—The Squadron at Honolulu—Trade and Resources of the Hawaiian Group—Departure from Honolulu—Final Disposition of the Squadron—Cruise of the Vincennes—Wake's Island—Manilla—The Vincennes and Flying-Fish join Company—Cruise of the Flying-Fish—Manilla.

CHAPTER XVII.

MANILLA . . . . . 246

Arrival at Manilla—Anchorage—City and its Buildings—Its Population—City Government—Discovery and Occupation of the Philippines—Policy of the Conquerors—Geological Features of the Islands—Productions and Agriculture—Agricultural Implements—Use of the Buffalo—Culture of Rice—Manilla Hemp—Coffee—Sugar—Cotton—Mode of taking Produce to Market—Profits of Agriculture—Ravages of Locusts—Inhabitants—Native Tribes—Policy of the Government—Capabilities for Commerce—Internal Disturbances—Visit to the Governor—Tenure and Emoluments of his Office—Royal Cigar Manufactory—Manufactures—Pine—Occupations of the Higher Classes—Marriages—Drive on the Prado—Theatre—Tertulia—Dress of the Natives—Cook-Fighting—Market—Environs of the City—Campo Santo—System of Government—Expedition to the Interior—Return to the City—Departure from Manilla.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SOOLOO . . . . . 270

The Vincennes and Flying-Fish sail from Manilla—Island of Mindoro—Island of Panay—Town of San Jose—Island of Mindanao—Samboangan—Island of Sooloo—The Vincennes Anchors in the Bay of Soung—House of the Datu or Governor—Personal Appearance of the Datu—Interview with the Sultan—His Personal Appearance—The Sultan's Son—Bowie-knife Pistol stolen—Restored—Character of the people of Sooloo—Dress of the Women—Occupations—Government of the Sooloo Archipelago—Population of the Island—The Vincennes sails for the Straits of Balabac—Mangsee Islands—Surveys made—Island of Balambangan—Straits of Singapore—Reunion of the Squadron—Cruise of the Porpoise and Oregon.

CHAPTER XIX.

SINGAPORE . . . . . 286

Variety of Shipping in the Roads—View of the Town—American Consul—Entrance of the River—Landing—Variety of Costumes, Races, Religions, and Languages—Police and Military Force—Tigers—Botany and Cultivated Plants—Mode of Conveyance—Chinese Inhabitants—Their Gambling—Their Appearance and Dress—Their Festival of the New Year—Their Theatricals—Convicts—Market—Currency—Malays—Armenians—Parsees—Mixture of Races—Ship of the King of Cochinchina—Chinese Junks—Trade of Singapore—Opium Shops—Population—Sale of Flying-Fish—Departure from Singapore.

## CHAPTER XX.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE . . . . .	Page 302
Departure from Singapore—Straits of Rhio—Straits of Banca—Straits of Sunda— Indian Ocean—Death of Mr. Vanderford—Vendovi's Grief—Arrival in Table Bay —Cape Town—Government of the Colony—Taxes—Banking—Import Trade— Hottentots—Caffre Tribes—Visit to Constantia—Astronomy and Magnetic Obser- vations—Ascent of Table Mountain—Green Point—Light-House—Exchange— Garden of the Baron von Ludwig—Tenures of Land—Departure from Table Bay —Voyage to St. Helena—Jamestown—Visit to the Tomb of Napoleon and Long- wood—Magnetic Observatory—Plantation-House—Departure from St. Helena— Passage to the United States—Arrival at New York—Conclusion.	
APPENDIX . . . . .	323

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

<div style="text-align: center;">—●—</div>	<b>Page</b> <i>Frontispiece</i>
QUEEN OF KEWA . . . . .	15
FEEJEE CLOWN . . . . .	<i>Vignette in Title</i>
ROTUMA CHIEF . . . . .	16
NATIVE OF TONGA . . . . .	16
NATIVE OF ERROMANGO . . . . .	41
PATAGONIANS . . . . .	43
WILD FEEJEE MAN . . . . .	67
CANNIBAL COOKING POTS . . . . .	71
LIKUS . . . . .	80
VENDONI . . . . .	106
FEEJEE ARMS . . . . .	129
FEEJEE DRUMMER . . . . .	141
CAPTAIN COOK'S MONUMENT . . . . .	147
CRATER OF KILAURA . . . . .	181
CONCOMELY'S TOMB . . . . .	198
MAITETAN; WAR-CHIEF OF MANONO . . . . .	198
BOWDITCH ISLANDER . . . . .	199
FIGUR, OR BANYAN TREE . . . . .	201
DRILL USED IN BOWDITCH ISLAND . . . . .	202
COSTUME, KILICE'S GROUP . . . . .	203
NATIVE OF KILICE'S ISLAND . . . . .	205
DRUMMOND'S ISLAND WARRIORS . . . . .	213
INHABITANT OF MAKIN . . . . .	217
MARIAPA . . . . .	218
DRUMMOND'S ISLANDER . . . . .	

	Page
NATIVE OF MAKIN ISLAND . . . . .	223
KINGSMILL IDOL . . . . .	225
RAMSEY AND GEORGE (CHINOOK INDIANS) . . . . .	226
FLAT-HEAD CHILDREN . . . . .	227
INDIAN COSTUME . . . . .	228
INDIAN BURIAL PLACE . . . . .	231
MASKS OF THE NORTH-WEST INDIANS . . . . .	235
PIPES OF THE NORTH-WEST INDIANS . . . . .	236
UMPQUA INDIAN GIRL . . . . .	236
CALLAPUYA INDIAN . . . . .	238
JAPANESE . . . . .	243
MANILLA BANCA . . . . .	244
NATIVE OF LUEON . . . . .	251
MANILLA COSTUME . . . . .	263
SON OF SULTAN OF SOOLOO . . . . .	278
SOOLOO RIDING . . . . .	280
HOTTENTOTS . . . . .	310



# NARRATIVE OF

## THE

# UNITED STATES EXPLORING EXPEDITION.

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## CHAPTER I.

### TONGATABOO.

Departure from New Zealand—Halo and Parhella—Sunday Island—Ship Tobacco Plant—Water Spouts—Arrival at Tongataboo—Threatened War—Offered Mediation—Landing and Reception—Native Warriors—King Josiah—King George—Council Called—Its Proceedings—Cause of Hostilities—Ambition of King George—Messenger sent to the Heathen Party—Mr. and Mrs. Tucker—King George's Town—His House and Furniture—Return of the Messenger—Arrival of the Heathen Chiefs—Feelings of the Heathen of Tonga—Mumut—Departure of the Heathen Chiefs—Visit of the King to the Vincennes—Their Canoe—Canoes of the Tongese—Boat Song—Native Music—Interview with the Kings—Failure of the Mediation—Visit to Moa—Religion of the Heathens—Natives of Rotuma—Appearance and Dress of the Tongese—Their Character—Tamahas—Sport of Rat Catching—Feejee Warrior—Council of War—Population of the Islands—Missionary Operations—Feats of the Tongese in Swimming—Geological Structure of Tonga—Vegetation—Cultivation—Productions—Climate—Diseases—Arrival of the Porpoise—Native Pilots—Arrival of the Peacock—Her Repairs at Sydney—Difficulties attending them—Passage of the Peacock from New South Wales—Royal Family of Tonga—Termination and Result of the War—Intercourse between the Feejee and Tonga Islands—Tom Granby.

**H**AVING completed such repairs as were necessary, the Vincennes, with the Porpoise and Flying-Fish in company, sailed from the Bay of Islands on the 6th April, 1840, for Tongataboo. I believe that no person in the squadron felt any regret at leaving New Zealand, for there was a want of all means of amusement, as well as of any objects in whose observation we were interested.

On the 11th April, we had a most beautiful halo. It was formed at first of the segments of two great circles, the chords of which subtended an angle of  $54^{\circ}$ . These gradually united and formed a circle around the sun, whose diameter measured  $42^{\circ}$ .

The parhelia were very distinct, and had spurs on their outer sides; two points in the vertical plane intersecting the sun, were

very bright, but did not form parhelia; the sun's altitude was  $29^{\circ} 20'$ ; no decided clouds were to be seen, but the whole sky was hazy, and the wind fresh from the north-east. About two hours after this phenomenon, much lightning occurred, with torrents of rain, but no thunder, and this continued throughout the night.

On the 14th we made Sunday Island, the Raoul of D'Entrecasteaux. It is high and rugged, and had every appearance of being volcanic; the rocks rise like basaltic columns.

On the 15th we fell in with the Tobacco Plant, American whaler, Swain master, that left the United States about the same time we did. She had not been very successful. A singular circumstance is connected with this ship during her cruise; H. B. M. ship Herald, Captain Nias, whom we met in Sydney, picked up, several months since, off Java Head, four hundred miles from land, a whale-boat, with six men, who reported to Captain Nias that they had left the ship Tobacco Plant, which had been burnt at sea. They were taken on board the Herald, most kindly treated, brought and landed in New South Wales. The crew of the Herald presented them with 100%, and Captain Nias allowed them to sell their boat; besides all this they were amply supplied with clothes. This report of the loss of the ship seemed placed beyond contradiction, and to meet her afterwards caused us great surprise. A day or two after we had lost sight of the ship, a man whom I had taken on board as a distressed seaman, confessed that he had deserted from her, and also informed us that the six men had left the ship at sea in an open boat, in consequence of the ill treatment they had received from the captain, and the short allowance of provisions on board. The manner in which they carried on their deception upon Captain Nias, his officers, and crew, was remarkable, and shows how much commiseration all classes of men feel for those in distress, and how unwilling they are to scrutinise a tale of sorrow, when they have the apparent evidence before them of its truth. These men were upwards of twenty days on board the Herald, and yet I was told that they were throughout consistent in their account of the alleged misfortune, and apparently showed much proper feeling for the fate that had befallen their companions.

On the afternoon of the 19th we saw the appearance of a water-spout, forming about half a mile from the ship; the water was seen flying up as if from a circle of fifty feet in diameter, throwing off jets from the circumference of the circle, not unlike a willow basket in shape, and having a circular motion from right to left; there was a heavy black cloud over it, but no descending tube; and it did not appear to have any progressive motion. Desirous of getting near, I kept the ship off for it, but we had little wind; the cloud dispersed, and the whole was dissipated before we got near to it. The electrometer showed no change.

On the 24th, at 1 P.M., we rounded the eastern end of Tongataboo, and stood down through the Astrolabe canal. This is a dangerous passage, and ought not to be attempted when the wind is variable or light; it is nine miles in length, and passes between two coral reefs, where there is no anchorage; it was at the western end of it that the

Astrolabe was near being wrecked in 1827. It is from a half to one mile wide, gradually narrowing until the small island of Mahoga appears to close the passage. When nearly up to this island, the passage takes a short and narrow turn to the northward; in turning round into this pass, I was aware of a coral patch, laid down by the Astrolabe, and hauled up to avoid it, by passing to the eastward; but the danger was nearer the reef than laid down, and the sun's glare being strong, we were unable to see it, and ran directly upon it. For a moment the ship's way was stopped, but the obstacle broke under her, and we proceeded on to the anchorage off Nukualofa, the residence of King Josiah, alias Tubou. In our survey of the above passage, no shoal was found in the place where the ship had struck, and we had the satisfaction of knowing that we had destroyed it without injury to the vessel.

Nukualofa is a station of the Wesleyan mission, the heads of which, Messrs. Tucker and Babone, paid me a visit, and from them I learned that the Christian and Devil's parties were on the point of hostilities; that Taufashau or King George, of Vavao, had arrived with eight hundred warriors, for the purpose of carrying on the war, and putting an end to it.

The islands of Tongataboo and Eooa are the two southern islands of the Hapai Group (the Friendly Isles of Cook); the former is a low, level island, while that of Eooa is high. The highest part of Tongataboo is only sixty feet above the level of the sea, while that of Eooa rises about six hundred feet; the strait between them is eight miles wide. Tonga is extremely fruitful, and covered with foliage, and contains ten thousand inhabitants; while that of Eooa is rocky and barren, and contains only two hundred inhabitants.

Believing that I might exert an influence to reconcile the parties, and through my instrumentality restore the blessings of peace, I proffered my services to that effect, which were warmly accepted by the Reverend Mr. Tucker. I therefore sent a message to the chiefs of the Christian party, to meet me in fono in the morning, and late at night received a notice that they would be prepared to receive me. On the morning of the 24th I landed with all the officers that could be spared from other duties; we were received on the beach by Mr. Tucker, and were at once surrounded by a large number of natives. It was impossible not to be struck with the great difference between these people, and those we had just left in New Zealand; nothing of the morose, and savage appearance so remarkable there, was seen; here all was cheerfulness and gaiety; all appeared well fed and well formed, with full faces and muscles. The number of children particularly attracted our notice, in striking contrast to the New Zealand groups, where few but men were seen. In a few minutes we heard the native drum, calling the warriors and people together; we went a short distance along the beach, passed into the fortification, and up a gentle acclivity, on the top of which is now the Mission church, and the house of King Tubou. On our way up we passed by the drum, or, as it is here called, *toti*, which is a large, hollow log, not unlike a pig-trough, made of hard, sonorous wood; it is struck with a mallet, shaped somewhat like that used by stone-cutters; it

gives a sound not unlike a distant gong, and it is said may be heard from seven to ten miles.

From the top of this hill (sixty feet high, and the most elevated point on the island) there is an extensive view, over the island on one hand, and on the other over the encircling reefs and the deep blue sea. I felt familiar with the scenes around me, from the description I had often read in Mariner's Tonga Islands, and feel great pleasure in confirming the admirable and accurate description there given. The names we heard were familiar to us, and we found, through the natives and missionaries, that many of the descendants of the persons of whom he speaks were present.

I was within the fortification of Nukualofa, the scene of many of the exploits which Mariner relates. I was now surrounded by large numbers of warriors, all grotesquely dressed and ready for the fight, with clubs, spears, and muskets. In addition to the usual tapa around their waist, they had yellow and straw-coloured ribands, made of the pandanus-leaves, tied around their arms above the elbows, on their legs above and below the knees, and on their bodies; some had them tied and gathered up in knots; others wore them as scarfs—some on the right shoulder, some on the left, and others on both shoulders. Some of these sashes were beautifully white, about three inches wide, and quite pliable. Many of them had fanciful head-dresses, some with natural and others with artificial flowers over their turbans (called sala); and nearly all had their faces painted in the most grotesque manner, with red, yellow, white, and black stripes, crossing the face in all directions. Some were seen with a jet-black face and vermilion nose; others with half the face painted white. When a body of some eight hundred of these dark-looking, well-formed warriors, all eager for the fight, and going to and fro to join their several companies, is seen, it is hardly possible to describe the effect. The scene was novel in the extreme, and entirely unexpected, for I considered that we were on a mission of peace. A few minutes' conversation with Mr. Tucker accounted for it all. The evening before, the "Devil's party," it appeared, had attacked their yam-grounds; some of the natives were wounded on both sides; and great fear had been entertained that they would have followed up their attack even to the town of Nukualofa; most of the warriors had, therefore, been under arms the whole night.

We were led through all this confusion to the small hut of Tubou or King Josiah: here we were presented to his majesty, with whom I shook hands. He was sitting on a mat winding a ball of sennit, which he had been making, and at which occupation he continued for the most part of the time. He had the appearance of being about sixty years old; his figure is tall, though much bent with age; he has a fine dignified countenance, but is represented as a very imbecile old man, fit for anything but to rule; as domestic and affectionate in his family, caring little about the affairs of government, provided he can have his children and grandchildren around him to play with, in which amusement he passes the most of his time. Seats were provided for us from the missionaries' houses,

and were placed in the hut, whose sides being open, gave us a full view of all that was passing without. King Josiah, with his nearest relatives and the highest chiefs, about ten in number, occupied the hut, together with the missionaries and ourselves. The warriors were grouped about in little squads, in their various grotesque accoutrements.

When all was apparently ready, we waited some few minutes for King George. When he made his appearance, I could not but admire him; he is upwards of six feet in height, extremely well proportioned, and athletic; his limbs are rounded and full; his features regular and manly, with a fine open countenance and sensible face; all which were seen to the greatest advantage. The only covering he wore was a large white tapa or gnato, girded in loose folds around his waist, and hanging to the ground, leaving his arms and chests quite bare. He at once attracted all eyes; for, on approaching, every movement showed he was in the habit of commanding those about him. With unassuming dignity, he quietly took his seat without the hut, and as if rather prepared to be a listener than one who was to meet us in council. This was afterwards explained to me by Mr. Tucker, who stated that King George is not yet considered a native chief of Tonga, and, notwithstanding his actual power here and at Vavao, is obliged to take his seat among the common people. On observing his situation, and knowing him to be the ruling chief *de facto*, I immediately requested that he might be admitted to the hut; and he was accordingly requested to enter, which he did, and seated himself at a respectful distance from the king, to whom he showed great and marked respect.

Mr. Rabone, the assistant missionary, was the interpreter, and the conversation or talk that passed between us was in an undertone. The peculiarity of figurative speech, common to all the islanders, was very marked in King George, affording a condensed, or rather concise mode of expression, that is indicative of sense and comprehension. They began by assuring me of the pleasure it gave them to see me, when they were just about going to war, and were in much trouble. I proposed myself as a mediator between the parties, and that each party should appoint ten chiefs, to meet under my direction and protection, in order to arrange all the difficulties between them; that these should meet on neutral ground, on the island of Pangai-Moutu, about half-way between the heathen fortress of Moa and Nukualofa. I also offered to send officers or go myself to the heathen fortress to make a similar request of them. With all this they appeared pleased, but in answer to it King George simply asked, "Will they ever return?" After a little conversation, they assented to my propositions. I then took the occasion to rebuke them mildly for allowing their followers to assemble in their war-dresses, and with so many warlike preparations on such an occasion, telling them that I thought it indicated anything but the peaceful disposition, in the belief of the existence of which I had called the meeting. The affair concluded by their leaving the whole matter to my discretion, and with an assurance that they would conform to my decision. During the half hour spent in this conference, the

whole multitude outside seemed as though they were transfixed to the spot, awaiting in anxious expectation the result. As King Josiah (who it seems is exceedingly prone to somnolency) was now seen to be nodding, I judged it time to move an adjournment, and the council was broken up.

All now became bustle and apparent confusion ; every one was in motion ; the whole village, including the women and children, carrying baskets, hoes, sticks, &c., besides their arms and war instruments : all were going to the yam-grounds, expecting an engagement with the heathen. It had a fine effect to see them passing quickly through the beautiful cocoa-nut groves, in companies of fifteen to twenty, in their martial costumes, painted, belted, and turbaned—some of the finest specimens of the human race that can well be imagined, surpassing in symmetry and grace those of all the other groups we had visited. The fashion of their warlike dress is changed for every battle, in order to act as a disguise, and prevent them from being known to the enemy, but yet they are readily distinguished by their own party.

Anxious to know the actual cause of the war, I made every inquiry that was in my power, and satisfied myself that it was in a great measure a religious contest, growing out of the zeal the missionaries have to propagate the gospel, and to convert the heathen. With this is combined the desire of King George, or Taufaahau, who is already master of Hapai and Vavao, to possess himself of all the islands of the group. About three years prior to our visit, a war had broken out in Tonga of a similar character, and the Christian party being hard pressed, sent to ask the aid of King George, who came, relieved them, and defeated their enemies. Mr. Rabone, the missionary above spoken of, was residing at Hihifo, a town or fortress on the west end of the island, where he converted a few of the natives, who were required to remove from the district by the *ata*, which is the title the governor of the district bears. They refused, as they asserted their lands were all there, and they wished to remain. About the same time, Mr. Rabone thought proper to shoot one of their sacred pigeons, which incensed the people against him ; for if a native had committed the same act, he would have been clubbed, and as he himself confessed, he knew their superstitious feeling for this bird. Mr. Rabone, in consequence of this occurrence, was obliged to remove to Nukualofa. The heathen also complained that their temples were desecrated, their customs broken in upon, and their pleasures destroyed by the Christian party, who endeavoured to interdict their comforts, and force laws upon them in the shape of taboos through their king ; that they even prohibited the smoking of tobacco, an innocent pleasure, which the natives have long been accustomed to, and take great delight in, but which is now forbidden by royal ordinance to the Christian party, and any infraction of the law severely punished. The heathen now said that they could no longer endure these acts, and were determined to resist.

The natives who had renounced heathenism, and joined the Christian party, finding they were not permitted to remain at Hihifo,

retired to a short distance from it, and built themselves a small fortress, which the ata finally blockaded. The Christian party now sent for aid to Nukualofa, and having enlisted the feelings of the missionaries and their adherents in the cause, they sent a message for King George, who again came with a large force from Hapai and Vavao to their assistance. On his arrival, a long conference ensued, in which the ata expressed himself desirous of treating for peace, and proposed that a conference should take place in his fort.

To this King George assented, and proceeded to the small Christian fortress in the vicinity of Hihifo, where it is said he was met by a deserter from Hihifo, who told him the only purpose of inviting him to a conference there was to assassinate him and his chiefs. This story was said to have been confirmed from other sources, but this additional evidence seemed far from being satisfactory. King George immediately resolved to invest and storm the fortress of Hihifo; and, for the purpose of diminishing the enemy's strength, had recourse to a singular stratagem. He directed all of his men who had any friends or acquaintances in Hihifo, and of these there were many, to advance towards the walls, and each one to call to his relation, friend, or acquaintance within, and assure him of safety if he would desert! This had the desired effect, and a great many persons, forming a large part of the garrison, jumped over the wall, and joined the besiegers. The remainder, being weakened and disheartened, surrendered. Thus the difficulty ended for the present, the rest of the heathen not having yet joined in the affair, although it was said they were fully prepared for hostilities. King George now re-embarked, to return home with his warriors, sailing for Honga Tonga and Honga Hapai, which is the route taken in their voyages when going back to Vavao.

The following account of the resolution he took there was derived from King George, through Mr. Tucker, and clearly proved to my mind that his object now was to enlarge his dominions, by adding to them the island of Tonga. "Here he reflected upon the subject of his departure, and the defenceless state of King Josiah or Tubou; and he was so forcibly struck with his danger, and that of the missionaries, that he resolved to return, and remain at Nukualofa until the heathen were finally subdued." We, in consequence, found him established, building and fortifying a town, and his forces daily arriving from Vavao and Hapai. Indeed his whole conduct did not leave us any room to doubt what his intentions were, and that the missionaries and he were mutually serving each other's cause.

On consultation, Eliza Anne Tubou was selected as the most proper messenger of peace that could be sent, and the only one indeed who could go with safety. She is the daughter of Faatu, the heathen chief of Moa, one of the largest heathen fortresses; is married to a chief of the Christian party. She is a fine, intelligent-looking woman, with good sense and much good feeling, and entered warmly into the arrangements. She was dispatched with a written proposal for the conference, and was to return the next day. She is

called the *sacred daughter*, and goes where she likes without being molested.

After the council was over, I accepted the invitation of Mr. Tucker to accompany him to the mission, and received an introduction to Mrs. Tucker, who gave us a kind welcome. She has for some time been the principal instructress of both old and young: I can myself vouch for the unexpected proficiency of some of her scholars in speaking English. To her and her husband I feel much indebted for their answers to the many inquiries respecting the state of things in the island—the employments and character of the natives, their wars, manners, and customs. They appeared indefatigable in their exertions for the good of the natives.

King George, or Taufaahau, was building his town just without the fortification of King Josiah: it is an enclosure of four hundred yards square; the fence consists of close wicker-work, made of the small sugar-cane, and in order to make it stronger, several thick-nesses are put together: this makes a more effective defence than one would imagine; it is about eight feet high, and trimmed off on the top, and when new has a very pretty appearance. The permanency and arrangement with which the town is laid out, make Taufaahau's intentions quite evident. The avenues cross the square diagonally, the gates being at the corners, and in the centre is a large area, left for a chapel.

The houses of King Josiah's or Tubou's town are mostly within the fortress; this is a high mud wall or embankment, on the top of which is a wicker-work fence; on the outside of the wall is a ditch, twelve feet wide by five feet deep. There are three principal gateways, which are very narrow entrances, formed by thick cocoa-nut posts, set firmly and closely in the ground, admitting only two persons at a time; these entrances are about fifteen feet long, and in order to secure them against an attack, they are so arranged as to be filled up with earth; they have likewise a number of hollow logs buried in the wall, and set obliquely, serving as loop-holes, through which they may have a cross-fire at their enemies as they approach. These loop-holes can only be used for muskets, and have been introduced since the natives began to use fire-arms, or since the time of Mariner, for he makes no mention of them in describing the fortresses.

King George's house is near by: it was originally built at Hihifo, for a chapel; the chief of that place gave it to Taufaahau, and it was divided into three parts, and brought to Nukualofa in canoes. On my visit the king was not at home, but Mr. Tucker asked me to walk in. The building is not a large one; it is divided into three apartments by tapa screens, and was partly furnished. I observed many decanters and tumblers on a shelf, the former well filled to appearance with spirits and gin; but I had no opportunity of knowing actually what the contents were. Many of the queen's waiting-maids were present, arranging the house previous to her arrival; she was hourly expected from Hapai and is reported to be the most beautiful woman in the group. The new town is rapidly



progressing ; great regularity exists, and everything is so arranged that each company of warriors with their families are assigned a particular quarter in which to build ; they have come prepared, too, for the purpose, having brought many parts of their houses with them. These houses have a temporary appearance, although they are very comfortable ; and the rapidity with which they build them is astonishing : the enclosure, and about fifty houses, were built in three days : twelve men can complete a house in a little more than a day. The average size of the houses is fifteen by twenty feet, and about fifteen feet high under the ridge-pole ; they are of circular or elliptical form. The furniture of the natives consists of their implements of war, *ava-bowl*, a chest or box for their valuables, and a set of mats, some of which are made for the floors, and others for screens ; the latter are about two feet in width, and are seen partly surrounding them when sitting, standing on their edges, which are supported by scrolls at each end ; they are pretty, some of them being much ornamented.

They have great quantities of *tapa cloth*, in a thin sort of which they use to roll themselves at night, as a security against the mosquitoes, with which their island abounds. The new town is beautifully situated in a bread-fruit and cocoa-nut grove, which gives it perpetual shade, whilst it is sufficiently open to admit the cool breeze.

On the 26th, agreeably to my engagement, I moved the ship to the island of Pangai-Moutu, in order to be near the place of meeting of the conference between the two belligerent parties, and to protect both from the treachery they seemed mutually to fear. Pangai-Moutu is about three and a half miles from Nukualofa, and is now considered as neutral ground ; the anchorage is a good and safe one. Our messenger, Eliza Anne Tubou, returned, and gave me assurances that the heathen were willing to meet in conference ; that they desired peace, and to be left in the quiet enjoyment of their land and their gods, and did not wish to interfere or have anything to do with the new religion. They again asked me, if they came, would I protect them fully ? In reply to this, I sent the strongest assurances of protection to them. My hopes, however, of producing a peace and reconciliation among them, began to decline ; for it was evident that King George and his advisers, and, indeed, the whole Christian party, seemed to be desirous of continuing the war, either to force the heathen to become Christians, or to carry it on to extermination, which the number of their warriors made them believe they had the power to effect.

On the 28th, our boat returned from Moa, bringing an old blind chief, called Mufa. The wife of Faatu came in place of her husband, accompanied by four or five lesser chiefs, who had been deputed to attend the council. The wife of Faatu is a large fat woman. He himself was willing to attend, but his chiefs and people interfered and prevented him as he was coming to the boat, fearing lest he should be detained as a hostage : and they made such an outcry (according to the officer) against it, that he was obliged to yield.

Mufa is the grandfather of Taufaaahau, and was supposed would have some influence with him. From everything we saw, we became satisfied that the heathen were desirous of making peace, at least the people of Moa. I gave orders to provide them with everything for their comfort, giving them full assurance of my protection, and their safe return; and finding them ill at ease on board ship, I ordered a tent to be pitched on shore for their accommodation, and had them supplied with rice and molasses, as well as the food they are in the habit of eating, consisting of yams, taro, &c.

One can readily enter into the feelings of the heathen, who are inhabitants of the sacred Tonga, and have always been looked up to by the inhabitants of the rest of the group, who were obliged to carry thither offerings, &c., to the gods, as superior to themselves, when they see an attempt made to subjugate them, by those whom they have always looked upon with contempt, and to force upon them a new religion, and a change in everything they have hitherto looked upon as sacred. Such feelings are enough to make them war against any innovation in their social polity and laws; and after having been acknowledged from time immemorial as pre-eminent throughout the whole group, including Wallis, Hoorn, Traitor's and Keppel's Islands, it is not surprising that they should be found the active enemies of religious encroachments. Their vexation is augmented by the disappointment they experienced in the last election of the king of Tonga (Tui Kanakabolo); Tubou, although the brother of his predecessor, was chosen by them in preference to Mumui, the son, because they believed him to be favourable to their side, and opposed to the Christian party; Mumui, on the other hand, was brought up by the missionaries, speaks English tolerably well, and is the missionaries' principal school teacher. Mr. Tucker informed me that Mumui is now considered as the son of Tubou, and will be entitled to the succession, for which both Faatu and Taufaaahau are likewise candidates, on the death of Tubou.

The singular custom is said to prevail in Tonga, that none of the royal family ever receive a title of office; for by so doing, I was told, they would virtually renounce their right to the kingdom. The Tui Kanakabolo has the power of rescinding titles. In one view, the government may be considered a kind of family compact, for the persons holding titles and offices address one another by the names of father, son, uncle, and grandfather, without reference whatever to their real degree of relationship.

The titles generally consist of the name of the district over which the chief rules, and of which they receive the revenues, with "tui," a word synonymous with lord, before it. This, however, is not always the case, for there are others who have distinct titles, as Lavaka, the king of Bea, one of the bitterest opponents of the Christians, and who is determined to die rather than submit to them; and Ata, Takafauna, and Vaea, the great chief of Houma. The latter was deposed a short time since, yet still retains his title among the heathen.

Shadrach, or Mumui, as he is also called, is a good sample of the

Tongese. I saw him at Mr. Tucker's, where he was introduced to me; and I must confess myself not a little surprised to hear him address me in tolerably good English, asking me the news, and what occurrences had taken place in Europe. It appeared ridiculous to be questioned by a half-naked savage upon such subjects; but I must do him the justice to say he seemed quite familiar with some of the events that have taken place during the last fifteen or twenty years. He is one of the missionaries' most zealous converts, and I believe to Mrs. Tucker is due the credit of teaching him; he has, I understood, sole charge of their large school of three hundred scholars, and it, in order and regularity, equals, if it does not exceed, any in our own country. Mrs. Tucker thinks this is partly to be ascribed to his being a high chief, whom they are brought up to have a great respect for. Mumui's countenance shows much intelligence, but his figure is rather out of proportion: his age is under thirty.

On the morning of the 29th, it was reported to me that Mufa, the old blind chief, and his companion, had decamped, without giving any notice of their intention, and after eating their fill of the good things set before them, besides carrying off the remains of their feast. This movement, I afterwards learned, was owing to their having received intelligence of the people of Bea having made another attack upon the yam-grounds of the Christians, and carried off a large quantity; and they were fearful lest some retaliatory measures should be taken to intercept them.

This day the kings visited me, with a number of their chiefs and people in a large canoe, and made a fine appearance on approaching the ship; it was the largest we saw during the voyage; it was one hundred feet in length, and of the double kind, which consists of two canoes of different size joined together by a deck thrown across them both; on this deck a small house is constructed, which serves for a cabin to keep off the weather; above the house was a small platform, eight feet square, with a railing on each side; the mast, which is about thirty feet long, is supported by guys, having a long yard attached to it, with its mat-sail of huge dimensions furled.

In all canoes, both double and single, small hatchways are left at both ends, with high combings, and when under way, a man is always seen in each baling out the water. The mode of propelling the canoe by sculling is peculiar to the Tongese and Feejees; the sculler, instead of using the oar as we do, stands behind it, and holds it perpendicularly. The oar has a broad blade, and is ten feet in length; the sculler thus has the whole weight of his body to assist his strength in using it: it is confined in a hole in the platform. There is generally one of these oars at each end, and they are enabled to propel one of these large canoes between two and three miles an hour by means of them.

The Tongese are great adepts in managing their canoes when under sail: and they sail much more swiftly on a wind than before it. As this canoe is of Feejee origin, I shall defer describing it until a succeeding chapter.

The canoe of these chiefs was seen advancing slowly over the calm sea by the efforts of its scullers, and was filled with men, keeping perfect time and making excellent music.

They sing any words, but generally such as are applicable to the mission of business or pleasure they may be on ; and although the air and bass are heard most distinctly, the four parts are all sung in the most perfect harmony. From the fact that the tenors and basses sing parts of a bar, alternately with each other, and come in perfectly, it would seem that they cultivate music in their own rude way, producing a wild but agreeable effect. To this the scullers keep time.

This music has a great resemblance to that of the Samoan Group, and it is the custom in both to sing it while at work. It may therefore be inferred that it is native, for the Tongese never had foreign music of any kind taught them. The missionaries themselves do not sing, and declared that they were not able to tell Old Hundredth from God save the King, if the same words were adapted to both ! The females of this island, generally, have very musical voices, whose pitch is the same as that of European women ; the voices of the men are a full octave below, round and full ; all are very apt in learning a tune. Mr. Drayton remarks that he did not hear a single strain in the minor mood in singing, nor even in their natural sounds in speaking. Music might be cultivated among this people with great success, from the evident delight they take in musical sounds, and their strong desire to learn ; but they could with difficulty be prevailed upon to sing, for the state of the country, and the fear of the missionaries, or the order of the king, prevented it.

Finding me engaged on the island of Pangai-Moutu, at the observatory, the natives passed to the shore. I received them in my tent, and the first words spoken were to inform me that they had come to the conference ; and they asked where their adversaries were. Being well aware that they had avoided coming the day before, and had gone out to make battle, instead of coming as appointed to the meeting, and that they knew the chiefs of Moa had returned, I took care to let them know that I was not to be imposed upon by such a trick. When they saw they could not deceive me, they seemed disposed to laugh it off ; but finding that their chiefs and warriors (upwards of one hundred) were all armed, I took care to retort upon them for their want of confidence, and to tell them how unlike it was to their profession of Christianity, and that they must show a proper disposition, before the white people would give them any credit for being Christians. I then took the two kings with me on board the ship, leaving their canoe to follow. Shortly after we had embarked, King George's followers, finding a canoe on the beach owned by three natives of Rotuma, who reside at Moa, stole the paddles out of it, turned it over, and set it adrift. On making it known to King George, however, he promised recompense, but would not punish or seek to find out the perpetrators of the deed. I felt provoked that the king should not have had more control over them. He in truth seems to exercise very little power over his people. The kings were shown over the ship, and

several guns were fired, which they pretended to wonder at very much.

They remained on board upwards of an hour, and took lunch with me. I was much amused with their conduct; they ate heartily of everything on the table, and finally crammed themselves with almonds and raisins, with a most unkingly appetite. They then requested leave to take some to their wives, which they tied up in the corner of their tapas. Before they left the ship, I presented King George (in the name of the government) with a handsome fowling-piece, and King Josiah with a red silk umbrella, which highly delighted him. Their majesties were both naked, except the tapa wound around their waists; and it was a curious sight to see them endeavouring to imitate us in the use of knives and forks. They left the ship highly delighted with their presents and visit, embarked in their canoe, and proceeded to Nukualofa, all joining again in the same chorus. The canoe was nearly level with the water, and appeared like a floating mass of human beings.

Thus ended my hopes of effecting the desired reconciliation between the two parties. The heathen are represented by the Christian party and missionaries as a set of cruel savages, great liars, treacherous, and evil-disposed; and this character seems to be given to them only because they will not listen to the preaching; and it is alleged they must therefore be treated with severity, and compelled to yield. Under these feelings it was in vain to expect to produce a reconciliation; and had I been aware of them, I should not have attempted the task. I must here record, that in all that met our observations, the impression was, that the heathen were well-disposed and kind, and were desirous to put an end to the difficulties.

Several of the officers visited Moa. In order to reach it, it is necessary to pass in boats through a large shallow lagoon, and it must be crossed nearly at high water, or the channel will be found very tortuous. The town or village is situated a little above the general level; it is surrounded by a ditch, which has little depth, as the coral rock is soon reached, and is not cut into. The intrenchment is composed of earth and logs, over which is a wicker fence, like that of Nukualofa; at the gates the ditch is interrupted, so as to form entrances, which are narrow and low. On the inside a guard-house with a sentinel was found; within the intrenchment was a high and well-built fence, and inside again were separate enclosures. They were led to the house of Faatu, the principal chief, who treated them with civility and kindness; they found him to possess both dignity and politeness. In his house were several Tonga drums, which were offered as seats. The natives were in great numbers, of all ages and sexes. A brisk trade was carried on for the supplies we needed; and although Faatu took no active part, yet the whole was evidently under his supervision.

The following outline of the belief of the heathen belonging to this group of islands will be found interesting. They worship many gods, who are believed to possess unlimited power over them, and are called the gods of Bulotu or Atua faka Bulotu, whom they

believe immortal; some of these gods are of this world, and are called Atua.

They believe that all evil is inflicted by certain gods, called Atua Bannu; that the spirits of all chiefs go to Bulotu; but that those of poor people remain in this world, to feed upon ants and lizards; that the island of Bulotu is not distant, although they do not attempt to fix its locality; that both gods and goddesses have visited Tonga within thirty years past, when they drank ava in their temples, and were married to Tonga chiefs; that the higher gods, or those of Bulotu, do not consider lying, theft, adultery, murder, &c., as crimes, but as things of this world, which are left for the inferior gods to deal with, and do not concern their more elevated natures. The only crime against the higher gods is sacrilege, committed towards their temples, or an improper use of the offerings. They call their oldest god Maui, and say that he drew the world or islands out of the sea with a hook and line: the first he drew up he named Ata, which is referred to Pylstart; the next was Tonga, with all its group of islands; then Lofanga and the other Hapai islands; and last the Vavao Group. After he had finished his work, he came and fixed his residence at Tonga. In those days the sky was so near the earth that men were obliged to crawl. One day Maui is represented as having met an old woman with water in a cocoa-nut shell, of whom he begged some drink, which she refused until he promised to send the sky up high, which he did, by pushing it up, and there it remained ever since. To Maui is ascribed the origin of that most useful tree called toa, the iron-wood (Casuarina), which in time reached the sky, and enabled the god called Etumatubua to descend. Maui had two sons, the eldest called Maui Atalonga, and the younger Kijikiji, but by whom it is not known. Kijikiji obtained some fire from the earth, and taught them to cook their food, which they found was good, and from that day food has been cooked, which before was eaten raw. In order to preserve the fire, Kijikiji commanded it to go into certain trees, whence it is now obtained by friction. They further say that during the time old Maui was on the earth, the only light was like that of the moon, and that neither day nor night existed; that Maui and his two sons live under the earth, where he sleeps most of his time; that when he turns himself over, he produces earthquakes, which they call "mofooeke." Maui is not now worshipped by any tribe, nor is he loved or feared.

Tangaloa, their second god, is thought to be nearly as old as Maui, and equal to him in dignity. He resides in the skies, which the Tongese believe to be very numerous. Hikuleo is the god of spirits, and is the third in order of time; he dwells in a cave in the island. Bulotu is most remarkable for a long tail, which prevents him from going further from the cave in which he resides than its length will admit of. In this cave he has feasts, and lives with his wives, by whom he has many children; he has absolute power over all, and all are forced to go to him; he is a being without love or goodness; to him the spirits of the chiefs and mataboles go, becoming his servants, and are forced to do his will, and to serve for what purpose

he pleases ; he even uses them to make fences of, or as bars to his gates ; and they have the idea that his house and all things in it are made of the spirits of people, where they continue to serve without end. They never pray to Bulotu, except when some sacrilege has been committed to the offerings they make him ; and on this occasion they always make a human sacrifice. They also invoke him when the Tui Tonga is sick ; and it depends on the reigning Tui Kanakabolo whether or not a human sacrifice is offered. None but gods are ever permitted to come from Bulotu. This god has his spirit-temple, where all their valuable presents to the gods are deposited. I was shown by the missionaries some large whale's teeth that were prettily carved, which had been found in the temple lately destroyed by the Christian party.



ROTUMA CHIEF.

We saw here three natives of the island of Rotuma, who had been some time at Tonga : one of them was said to be a chief of high rank : another, an old man, a chief also, and a kind of Mentor to the former, who spoke a little English, and was quite blind, having become so since he had left his own island. The old man seemed to feel great solicitude about his charge, and expressed a wish to get away from Tonga. The reason he gave me for this desire was, "there was too much fight here ; it would be bad for the young chief, who was to be a king." He told me also there had been no war on his island for many years. It is generally known by the whalers and others, that at Rotuma the people are the most peaceable of any of these Polynesian islanders ; and the whalers have been in the habit of resorting thither, because they experienced little difficulty, and are in no danger of being molested by the natives. He mentioned that many of his islanders were now abroad on board of whale-ships, where they earned good wages, and afterwards returned to the island with some property : he said that Rotuma contained very many people. He who was designated as the high chief, was a pleasing, handsome young man, and appeared modest and gentle in his deportment. Some thought he resembled in physiognomy our American Indians, but I did not myself remark it.

The natives of Tonga, in habits, customs, looks and general appearance, are so like the Samoans, that we were greatly struck with the resemblance ; indeed, in writing of Samoa, I mentioned that many things have been derived from Tonga, particularly their tapacovering from the waist downwards, called siapo. The two races also agree in having no covering for the head, and the females resemble

each other. The missionaries, through the king's ordinance, have caused the females to clothe themselves up to the neck with the pareu; but this is only conformed to before the missionaries, for we as frequently saw it worn in the native fashion.



NATIVE OF TONGA.

In colour the Tongese are a little lighter than the Samoans, and the young children are almost if not quite white. As they grow up, they are left, both males and females, to run about in a state of nature, with their hair cropped close, except a small curly lock over each ear. This is a practice which has before been spoken of as prevalent among the Samoans. Indeed, the similarity between the appearance of the children in the two groups is such, that they might be mistaken for each other. A larger proportion of fine-looking people is seldom to be seen in any portion of the globe; they are a shade lighter than any of the other islanders; their countenances are generally of the European cast; they are tall and well made, and their muscles are well developed. We had an opportunity of contrasting their physical



NATIVE OF ERROMAGO.

characters with those of several other natives, and particularly with a native of Erromago. The features of the latter were more nearly allied to those of the negro than any we had yet seen. His hair was woolly, his face prominent, and his lips thick. His nose, however, was not remarkably broad; his eyes were small, deeply sunk, and had a lively expression; his countenance was pleasing and intelligent, and his cheeks thin; his limbs were slender, and the calf of his leg high.\*

We also found some of the Feejee islanders here; the intercourse between Tonga and the windward islands of the Feejee Group is frequent. This intercourse is said to be the cause of the warlike habits which the Tongese have acquired. The people of Feejee appear to disadvantage when contrasted with those of Tonga; for the latter have much larger frames, their colour is several shades lighter, and their hair straight and fine, while that of the Feejee is frizzled.

The women of the Tonga Group are equally remarkable for their personal beauty.

\* Among other peculiarities of this native of Erromago, it was stated by the low whites, that instead of wrapping himself up in tapa at night, like the Tongese, he was in the habit of burying himself in the sand in order to avoid the musquitoes.



The natives of Tonga are industrious and ingenious; much attachment exists between husband and wife, and they are very fond of their children. We were surprised at their numbers, which give a striking air of cheerfulness and gaiety to the scene, when they are seen in groups, playing, and practising many kinds of jugglery.

As far as we observed, the Tongese are very fond of amusements, and smoking tobacco is absolutely a passion with them; this is raised by themselves: the leaf is cut up very fine, and then rolled within a fine pandanus-leaf, forming a cigar. The manner in which these natives use tobacco is one of the most pleasing of their social customs, and shows an absence of all selfishness; it is the same as at the Samoan Group, where the person who lights a pipe seldom gets more than two whiffs of its contents, as it is immediately passed around.

As a people, they may be termed warlike; and war-councils, making speeches, and drinking ava, may be called the business of their lives.

The women are said to be virtuous; their employments are to make tapa, mats, baskets, &c., and do the housework. The men cultivate the ground, and fish. The females are more in the habit of using lime-water and lime on their hair than those we have seen elsewhere. This application turns it red, but its chief use is to promote cleanliness. Of the ingenuity of the men we saw many proofs, in their manufacture of boxes, baskets, and miniature canoes.

The last day I visited Nakualofa, Mr. Tucker was kind enough to take me to see Tamahaa, the aunt of Tui Tonga, who is considered divine origin, for which reason great respect and honours are paid her. It is said that she has great influence with the heathen, though being a convert, she is favourable to the Christian side. A token of the great respect with which she is regarded, it was asked that the natives never turn the back upon her until at least forty feet distance, and never eat in her presence. She is old enough to remember the arrival of Cook when she was a child. I found her sitting in her house, with a child who could just stand (both enclosed in a rolled screen, before described), whom she was feeding with cocoa-nut pulp. We shook hands and sat some time with her, making many inquiries about the former persons of the island, which the entertaining volumes of Dr. Martin, relating the adventures of Mariner, had made me acquainted with. She told me to know Togi Uumeea, the name by which Mariner was known, and also most of the people mentioned in Mariner's account. During his visit to the missionaries, I found Tubou or King Josiah, had been sitting for his picture, and had fallen fast asleep. When I went to get some information from him, I felt desirous of waking him, and for that purpose asked him some questions about the sport of rat-hunting, described in Mariner's Tonga Islands, where he could not indulge me with an exhibition of a hunt. He at once brightened, and he became aroused to great animation, though his former feats and pleasure in this sport were

vidly before him. He regretted that the present state of the island, and the all-engrossing war, occupied too much of their attention to allow them to engage in any such peaceful occupation. He was represented to be a great sportsman, and the animation with which he spoke gave evident proof of it. He said that the game or sport was now seldom practised; that the rats had in consequence much increased, and were a great annoyance to the cultivator—but the war seemed to engross all the powers of his feeble mind. He told me that the heathen in all had fifteen hundred warriors; that they usually made war by attacking the taro and yam-grounds; these they plunder and destroy, which ultimately produces a famine, not only to their enemies but to themselves. He seemed to rejoice that the heathen had made the first attack, as they would thereby, according to their belief, be conquered. He told me he much desired peace and quietness, and was willing to do anything to bring it about; and as far as he was personally concerned, I believe he was in earnest, for every one seemed to give him the credit of being an imbecile, sleepy fellow, and paid him little or no respect.

During this visit I also saw a noted Feejee warrior, who had been absent from Tonga many years, and on his return had been engaged in these wars; he was described as a very wicked fellow, and if so, I can only say that his looks did not belie him: a worse or more brutal-looking man I have seldom seen. I understood that his arrival had been looked for with much impatience by the heathen, as affording them additional strength in a noted leader; but to the surprise of all, he joined himself to King George, and desired to become a Christian; he was received as such, and was now fighting against the heathen.

On the evening of the day on which King George visited the ship, he held a council, in which he addressed his chiefs and warriors on the necessity of carrying on the war with vigour; and measures were taken to prosecute it accordingly. The meeting took place in the malai opposite his house, while he sat in the doorway with his two children, with the church-people forming a circle around him. At this meeting was seen the noted chief and Feejee warrior who has already been spoken of, fully armed, in the background. After the council had debated and talked over the subject fully, King George gave some commands, which several messengers were sent to execute, and the council was dismissed in a truly primitive style and language: "Let every man go and cook his yams."

After the assemblage was dismissed, the king and chiefs remained some time in consultation. In this council, an attack upon the heathen towns was arranged. The next morning, smoke was seen ascending from some of the heathen villages, and word was brought to me afterwards, that King George, having sallied forth with eight hundred warriors at midnight, had burned two of the heathen towns. Although he had ordered seven hundred more warriors to follow him at daylight, he did not pursue the heathen, who fled before him. On his return in the evening he held an ava feast in honour of his success; at this meeting, Lavaka and Ata, or the chiefs who held

these titles, were formally degraded from their offices by the king—a stroke of policy that is thought will have much influence in alienating this people, as it has usually had that effect. I, however, very much question its success in the present instance, when the parties have such a deadly animosity towards each other; for the very authority by which the act of degradation is performed, has abandoned the religion by which the act was sanctioned.

The population of the Tonga Islands, as now given by the missionaries, is 18,500, viz.:

Eoa	200
Hapai	4,000
Vavao	4,000
Keppel's	1,000
Boscawen	1,300
Tonga	8,000
Total	18,500

At present the number on Tonga is increased by about one thousand.

About four thousand five hundred of the natives are Christians, of whom two thousand five hundred are church-members.

The jurisdiction of Tui Kanakabolo, or Lord of Kanakabolo, used to extend to Uea or Wallis Island, and several of the smaller islands in the neighbourhood.

This group of islands is divided into three missionary stations, viz.:

Tongataboo, commenced in	1829
Hapai,                   "	1829
Vavao,                   "	1830

The missionaries reside at each of these stations. The smaller islands are under the care of native teachers, and are visited occasionally by the missionaries to marry and baptise, &c. There is a printing-press established at Vavao, which has been in operation since 1832. Many of the women can sew, and a great number of the natives have learned to read and write; a few of them have been taught the rules of arithmetic, and the principles of geography. A very great improvement has taken place in the morals of the Christian part of the community; but the attachment of the people to their ancient usages is so strong, and the island so little visited by civilised nations, that they have not had that stimulus to improvement which others have derived from such advantages.

The Tongese are remarkable for their feats in swimming, and are very daring when sailing their canoes. An instance was told me that occurred in 1839, the year before our visit, which is looked upon as a well-established fact in this group. Two canoes left Hapai for Vavao; on their way, the wind arose and blew a strong gale from the north directly against them; one of them was driven back and landed at Ofalanga, an uninhabited island of the group,

occasionally visited by the natives for nuts, shells, fish, &c. ; in the other canoe, as they were taking in sail, a man fell overboard, and the wind and sea being strong and high, it was found impossible to save him without risking the lives of all on board, and he was given up ; this was about four o'clock, and the canoe was just in sight of land. The man accordingly turned his face towards Hapai, and resolved to reach it if possible ; he knew the wind was north, and directed his course by feeling the wind in his right and left ear, intending to swim before it ; he continued swimming, and rested by floating upon the water, until the moon rose ; he then steered his course by that luminary, and thus continued until morning, when he was near land, and almost within reach of the coral reef. When he had thus nearly escaped drowning, he was on the point of becoming the prey of a huge shark, whose jaws he avoided by reaching the coral shelf ; he then landed upon the island, which proved to be Ofalanga, where the first canoe had been driven ; the crew found him on the beach senseless, and attended to him ; he soon was brought to, and shortly afterwards recovered his strength. This man's name is Theophilus Tohu ; he is a native of Huano on the island of Hapai. The canoe from which he was lost returned to Huano before Theophilus did, and when he reached his home, he found his friends had passed through the usual ceremonies of his funeral.

The island of Tongataboo is of coral formation, and with extensive coral reefs to the northward of it ; it has a shallow lagoon, which extends about ten miles into the interior. The soil is deeper than upon any island of coral formation we have yet visited ; it is nearly a dead level, with the exception of a few hillocks, thirty or forty feet high ; the soil is a rich and fertile vegetable mould, and it is not composed of sand, as in the other coral islands. The vegetation, probably for this reason, does not altogether resemble that found on those islands. The luxuriance of the foliage is not surpassed. Some few specimens of pumice have been found on its shores, probably drifted there from the island of Tofooa, which is said to have an active volcano. Tofooa is the highest island of the group, and next in height is Eooa. There is a marked difference in the appearance of the islands of Eooa and Tonga ; on the former of which there is comparatively little vegetation.

On Tonga, although the vegetation equals any within the tropics, I was struck with the exaggerated accounts of the cultivation of the island ; for, so far from finding it a perfect garden, exhibiting the greatest care in its cultivation, it now appeared to be entirely neglected. The yam-grounds are more in the interior of the island, and in consequence of the war, there was no safety in passing beyond the limits of the party which possessed the north part of the island, or that in the vicinity of Nukualofa.

The natives cultivate yams, sweet potatoes, bananas, cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, sugar-cane, shaddock, limes, and the ti (*Spondias dulcis*) ; the pandanus is much attended to, and is one of their most useful trees, and of it all their mats are made ; a little corn is grown, and they have the papaw apple (*Papaya*) and water-melon. The missionaries have introduced the sweet orange from

Tahiti. I presented the missionaries with a variety of both fruit and vegetable seeds.

The botany of this island resembles that of the Samoan Group. A species of nutmeg was found here, differing from either of the Samoan ones.

The climate of Tonga is humid and the heat oppressive, rising frequently to  $98^{\circ}$  in the shade; much rain falls; the mean temperature during our stay was  $79.25^{\circ}$ . The trade winds are by no means constant, and westerly winds occasionally blow in every season, which, from their variable character, have obtained the name with the natives of "foolish winds."

The climate cannot be considered salubrious; very heavy dews fall at night, and no constitution can endure frequent exposure at this time; the transitions from heat to cold are sudden and great, and the nights are often so chilly as to make blankets necessary.

Hurricanes are frequent in this group, scarcely a season passing without some occurrence of the kind: the months of February and March are those in which they occur; but they have also taken place in November and December. The missionaries as yet have made no series of observations, nor kept any kind of meteorological diary; but in answer to my inquiries I obtained the information, that the storms begin at the north-west, thence veer to the eastward, and end in south-east. The wind continues to increase until it becomes a hurricane: houses are levelled, and trees torn up by the roots; vessels are driven on shore; canoes lost or driven hundreds of miles away to other islands. In these storms the wind is frequently observed to change almost immediately from one point to its opposite; and in the same group of islands, trees have fallen, during the same gale, some to the south and others to the north. They are local in their effects, and fall chiefly upon Hapai and Vavao; if the fury of the storm be felt at Vavao, Tonga generally escapes, and *vice versa*; but Hapai is more or less the sufferer in both cases, situated as it is between the two places. A very severe hurricane was felt at Lefooka, Hapai, in 1834. These hurricanes vary in duration from eighteen to thirty-six hours; after a destructive one, famine generally ensues, in which numbers of the natives die; it destroys all their crops. The natives give the name to those which are most severe, "Afa higa faji," or the hurricane that throws down the banana trees.

Earthquakes are frequently felt here, though there is no knowledge of any destructive effects from them.

The diseases of this climate are influenza, colds, coughs, and consumptions; glandular swellings, some eruptive complaints, fevers, some slight irregular intermittents are experienced; but, to judge from the number of old persons, longevity is by no means uncommon. The venereal disease has not made the same devastation as elsewhere; probably because, as respects morals and customs, these natives are the opposite to those of Tahiti.

On the 1st of May, our observations and surveying duties being completed, the instruments were embarked, and the boats hoisted in. A difficulty now arose; for I was informed that the native pilots

had received a message from the king, forbidding them to take the ships through the reefs; and although we needed their services but little, yet I thought it was a circumstance that required some investigation. I however gave orders to weigh anchor; but while in the act of doing so, the Porpoise was reported as in sight; I therefore awaited her joining company.

In the afternoon we ran down to the anchorage, off Nakualofa. When I dispatched an officer on shore, to inquire into the reason of the order sent the pilots, word was immediately returned on the part of the kings, that they knew nothing of the business; and they disclaimed any interference with them at all. On further investigation, the report was found to have grown out of the jealousy between two pilots, Tahiti Jim and Isaac; the former being the favourite of King George, whilst the latter was attached to King Josiah. This affair being settled, and having finished my orders for the Peacock, and sent them to the missionaries, we hove up our anchors, and made sail. Before we had got without the reef, a sail was descried, which proved to be the Peacock. After passing congratulations, by cheering, I made signal to anchor, which was done. We were now once more together, and only a few days behind the time allotted for reaching the Feejee Group.

The Peacock, as we have seen, was left at Sydney to complete her repairs; these detained her until the 30th of March, for it was found extremely difficult to obtain mechanics; and all who were employed, except two, were a lazy and drunken set; they all belong to the "Trades Union;" and to such an extreme is the action of this association carried, that they invariably support the most worthless, and make common cause with them. Employers are completely under their control, and there is no manner of redress for idleness or bad work. If the employer complains, they all leave work, refusing to do anything more, and soon compel him to re-engage them through necessity.

The repairs were made, as has been stated, in Mossman's Cove, on the north shore of the harbour of Sydney, one of the many natural docks that nature has provided for this harbour. The ship was laid aground, so as to expose her whole forefoot, during the ebb tide. The damage which she had sustained has been before spoken of; the stem was literally worn to within an inch and a half of the wood-ends. The repairs were finished by the end of March.

Although they were removed some distance from Sydney and its vile grog-shops, despite the utmost caution to prevent the crew from procuring spirits, it was found that a plan had been formed to supply them with it. In a hut near by, lived an Irishman, familiarly called Paddy, who acted as a kind of sutler, in supplying the messes of the officers and men with fresh bread and milk, and also doing the washing. After a few days it was discovered that the men were obtaining some extra allowance of spirits, and suspicion naturally enough fell on Paddy as the cause of this irregularity, and its consequent disturbances. Orders were therefore given to search him, on his next visit to the ship; this fully con-

firmed the suspicion, and his presence on board was at once interdicted.

Paddy had no idea of being thus defeated in reaping his harvest from the ship's company ; he therefore enlisted in his service a man, if possible, of a worse character than himself, whom he kept constantly supplied with rum, brandy, and gin from Sydney, and made it known to the crew that he was ready to furnish his former customers. The men soon managed, under various pretexts, to visit his hut, and supply themselves at the expense of their clothing, or some other equivalent. This new arrangement succeeded for a time, but was at length detected, and the nuisance wholly stopped ; steps were also taken for the punishment of the offenders, by making a complaint against them, which caused the apprehension of Paddy and his partner, and he was required to pay a fine of £30, or be imprisoned for six months.

Paddy was not the only annoyance they had to encounter. Another was the poisonous snakes that infest the secluded nooks of Mossman's Bay, numbers of which were daily seen near the ship ; among them was one resembling the diamond-snake, of a light silvery colour, about eighteen inches in length, and as thick as the little finger ; these are very numerous, and it is very desirable to avoid coming in contact with them, for their bite has often proved fatal. Instances are known in Sydney of persons who have been bitten, and have died in a few hours. An eminent physician of Sydney, on being asked the treatment in case of a bite, replied : "to bandage the affected part as soon as possible, cut it out, and as soon as preparations can be made, amputate the limb !" These venomous snakes frequently crawl into houses near the woods, and persons have been bitten whilst sitting at their doors in the evening. A lady, living on the north shore, near the residence of the American consul, was sitting playing on the piano, when hearing some rustling noise, she suddenly looked around, and discovered a diamond-snake only a short distance from her ; she screamed aloud, and jumped on the music-stool ; a servant soon came to the rescue, and killed the intruder. Instances occur repeatedly of these snakes infesting the houses, and so common is they, that if a person is stung, it is at once supposed to be by a snake. The effects of the bite, if not fatal, are said to produce partial blindness.

On the 30th of March they left Sydney, and passed the Heads of Port Jackson on the same afternoon. The island of Eooa was made the 30th of April, and on the 1st of May they passed through the straits and joined the squadron.

The present King Josiah is one of the sons of Mumui, who was reigning in Cook's time. Three of King Josiah's brothers have preceded him as rulers of Tonga : these were Tugo Aho, Tubou Toa, Tubou Maloki. The first reigned but a short time, being put to death by Tubou Ninha, a brother of the celebrated Finau. Tubou Toa was afterwards murdered by Tubou Toa, who reigned over the Hapai Islands, Tubou Maloki receiving the title of King of Tonga, or rather Tui Kanakabolo, or Lord of Kanakabolo, while

that of Vavao was governed by the younger Finau, adopted son of Finau Ulukalalu. This was the state of the island at the time of Mariner's, or Togi Uummea's visit. A few months after his departure, Finau died a natural death, and was succeeded by his uncle, Finau Feejee, having Toa Omoo to assist him. Finau Feejee was murdered by Hala Apiapia, who succeeded him; but his ambition of obtaining kingly power was not long satisfied, before he was put to death by Paunga, a high chief. The son of Finau Ulukalalu, named Tuabiji, succeeded, but died within a few years, and did not bear a good character. His dominions were immediately seized upon by Taufaahau, the present King George, then king of Hapai, the son of Tubou Toa, and grandson of Mumui; and there is now a prospect of his becoming king of the whole group. The Tui Kanakabolo, Tubou Maloki, was succeeded by the present King Josiah, or Tubou. Before the death of Tubou Maloki, his power had become very limited, Tonga itself being distracted by many civil broils; neither has his successor, King Josiah, more energy. His domain may now be said to be circumscribed to the town of Nukualofa; and if it had not been for the timely aid of Taufaahau, he would in all probability ere now have been driven from his kingdom. The son of Tubou Maloki, Mumui, before spoken of, is most thought of as his successor, though against such a powerful competitor as King George he does not stand much chance.

Since leaving the island, in the month of August, whilst employed in the neighbouring group (the Feejee), we learned that the war in Tonga had terminated very differently from what had been anticipated—in the complete route of the Christian party, King George and all his warriors being compelled to fly the island. On the arrival of Captain Croker, of H. B. M.'s sloop *Favourite*, he warmly interested himself in the advancement of the missionary cause, and determined to engage in negotiations with the heathen; but finding that many difficulties impeded his plans, he unfortunately determined to bring matters at once to an issue, and demanded that the terms he dictated should be acceded to by the heathen within a few hours. To enforce his demand, he landed a large part of his crew, with officers, and proceeded to the fortress of Bea; only an hour was given its defenders to decide. I am informed that it has since been understood that if a longer time had been granted, they would have acceded to his demand. He was punctual to his time, and on the chief's refusing to surrender, he made an attack upon the fortress. On his advancing near the gate, he with many of his officers and men were shot down; the survivors suffered a total defeat, and were obliged to retreat forthwith. The heathen now became the assailants, and the Christian party, together with the missionaries, were forced to embark, and afterwards landed at Vavao; King George was obliged to retire, and Nakualofa was invested by the heathen. Thus ended this religious war, and I cannot but believe that the precipitate zeal of the missionaries was the cause of so disastrous a result. That the heathen were much disposed to make peace, I am well assured; a little patience and forbearance, and at the same time encouraging intercourse with their towns and setting



them a good example, would have gradually and surely brought about the desired results ; while to force them to become converts, was a mode of proceeding calculated only to excite their enmity and opposition.

The intercourse between the Feejee and Tonga islanders has been of late years frequent ; the latter are more inclined to leave their homes than the former, and when a Tongese has once visited the Feejee Group, and returns safely, he is looked upon as a traveller. In Tonga they consider and look up to the Feejee islanders as more polished, and their opinions are viewed with much respect ; this one not only observes in their conversation, but they show it in adopting their manners and customs, and the attention and deference they pay to the opinions of those who have visited or belong to that group ; from them they obtain their canoes, and have learned the art of sailing and navigating them ; and from the situation of their islands, being more exposed to a rough ocean, they are probably now better and more adventurous navigators. This intercourse is kept up more particularly with the eastern islands of the Feejees ; at Lakemba we found many of them residing. When Cook visited this group, little was known of the Feejees. Thirty years afterwards, during the time Mariner resided on the Tonga islands, the intercourse and information had become greater and more accurate ; and at the period of our visit, we heard of many things that were passing in that group as familiar topics ; and we found among them many Tongese who were enjoying the hospitality of their western neighbours. The prevailing winds are in favour of the intercourse on the side of the Tongese, which may in some measure account for it ; and the favour with which they have always been received, and the flattering accounts those who returned have given of their reception, may in some measure account for the desire they always evince to pay the Feejee Group a visit. In a very few years, through the intercourse that will be brought about by the missionaries, there will be as much passing to and fro between them, as there is now among the several islands of either group, which will have a great tendency to advance the civilisation of both.

Previous to my departure, a sailor by the name of Tom Granby desired to have a passage to the Feejees, and although I entertained always much suspicion of the vagabonds who frequent the different lands, Tom's countenance was so very prepossessing, and his odesty as to his capabilities as a pilot such as to satisfy me that he is not one of the runaways or convicts ; he was besides, as he informed me, a resident of the island of Ovalau. I had already made my mind that this island should be the first place the squadron would go to, on account of its central position, which, if the harbour were convenient, offered the best point whence to superintend the vessels and to fix my observatory at ; Tom was therefore taken on board, and remained with us during the whole time we were in the Feejee Group, and I was well satisfied with him ; in short, he did not disappoint my countenance.

## CHAPTER II.

## FEEJEE GROUP—ISLAND OF OVOLAU.

Departure from Tongataboo—The Porpoise detached—Entrance into the Feejee Group—Arrival at Levuka—Tul Levuka—Message sent to King Tanoa—Tender of the Ship Leonidas—Excursion to the Peak of Anduloug—Arrival of Tanoa—His reception at Levuka—His Visit to the Vincennes—His adoption of the Rules and Regulations—His Suite—His Second Visit—Districts of Ovolau—Labours of Tul Levuka—Ruling Power in Ovolau—Town of Levuka—Districts of the Feejee Group—Recent History of Ambau—Introduction of Fire-arms—Reign of Ulivou—Accession of Tanoa—War with Rewa—Rebellion against Tanoa—His triumphal Return—Disturbances between Ambau and Rewa—Preparations for making a Garden—Visit from Sera—His reception on board the Vincennes—Visit from Paddy Connel—His History.

AT daylight on the 4th of May, 1840, the squadron got under way from the harbour of Nukualofa, and passed with safety through the reefs. At meridian, Honga Tonga and Honga Hapai were to the north of us; these are both high and are distant from Tonga twenty-seven miles.

At 6 A.M. I made signal to the Porpoise to part company.

On the 7th we found ourselves in the midst of a number of beautiful islands, viz.: Goro, Vanua-levu, and Somu-somu on our right; Nairai, Ambatiki, and Matuku on the left; whilst Ovolau, Wakaia, and Mokungai, were in front; they were all girt by white encircling reefs. So beautiful was their aspect, that I could scarcely bring my mind to the realising sense of the well-known fact, that they were the abode of a savage, ferocious, and treacherous race of cannibals.

Each island had its own peculiar beauty, but the eye as well as mind felt more satisfaction in resting upon Ovolau, which, as we approached, had more of the appearance of civilisation about it than the others; it is also the highest, most broken, and most picturesque. We did not succeed in reaching the harbour of Levuka until nine o'clock the next morning.

The remarkable peculiarity of these coral harbours is, that in gaining them, it is but an instant from the time the sea is left until security is found equal to that of an artificial dock; this is particularly the case with the harbour of Levuka. The shore was lined with natives, watching our progress with their usual curiosity; and it was amusing to hear the shouts of applause that emanated from the crowds on shore, when they witnessed the men, dressed all in white, running up the rigging to furl the sails.

In passing to the anchorage, we saw a tiny boat, in which was David Whippy, one of the principal white residents here, with one

of his naked children. David W. has been eighteen years on this island, and is the principal man among the whites. He is considered a Maticum Ambau, or royal messenger, and is much looked up to by the chiefs. He speaks their language well; is a prudent trustworthy person, and understands the character of the natives perfectly; his worth and excellent character I had long heard of.\* He immediately came on board to welcome us, and after we had anchored, he brought off Tui Levuka, the chief of the Levuka town. This dignitary was a stout, well-made man, strong and athletic, entirely naked, with the exception of a scanty maro, with long ends of white tapa hanging down before and behind, and a turban of white fleecy tapa, not unlike tissue-paper, around his head, of enormous size. These turbans designate the chiefs, and frequently have a small wreath of flowers over them. His face was a shining black, having been painted for the occasion; his countenance had a good expression, and he seemed, after a few moments, to be quite at his ease. As is customary, I at once gave him a present, with which he was well satisfied, clapping his hands several times, which is their mode of expressing thanks. His hair was crisped, with a small whalebone stick or needle, twelve or fourteen inches in length, stuck into it on one side. He was very desirous of doing everything for me, and said that any ground I wished to occupy was at the service of the countrymen of his friend Whippy.

Ovolau is the principal residence of the white men in the group, to whose general deportment and good conduct I must bear testimony; I met with none better disposed throughout the voyage than were found there.

I directed the chief, Tui Levuka, to send a message immediately to Ambau, to inform King Tancoa of my arrival, and desire him to visit me. This was at once assuming authority over him, and after the fashion of the country; but it was doubted by some whether he would come, as he was old, and a powerful chief.

The town of Levuka contains about forty houses; it is situated on the east side of the island of Ovolau, in a quiet and peaceful valley, surrounded by a dense grove of cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, with a fine stream of fresh and pure water running through it to the beach: high, broken, volcanic peaks rise to the west, forming the background.

The frames of the houses are built of the bread-fruit tree, and are filled in with reeds, whilst the roof is covered with a thatch of the wild sugar-cane. They are usually oblong in shape, and from twenty to twenty-five feet in length by fifteen in breadth.

The most conspicuous and remarkable structure is the mbure, or spirit-house, which is built on a raised and walled mound: its proportions are exceedingly uncouth, being nearly twice as high as it is broad at its base, and forming a singular, sharp-peaked roof; the piece of timber serving for the ridge-pole projects three or four feet at each end, is covered with numbers of white shells (*Ovula cyprea*), and has two long poles or spears crossing it at right angles.

\* He has, since our return, been appointed vice-consul for the Feejee Group.

At the termination of the thatching, the roofs of all the houses are about a foot thick, and project eighteen inches or two feet, forming eaves, which secure them from the wet. For the most part they have two doors, and a fireplace in the centre, composed of a few stones. The furniture consists of a few boxes, mats, several large clay jars, and many drinking vessels, the manufacture of pottery being extensively carried on by them. The sleeping-place is generally screened off, and raised about a foot above the other part of the floor.

I now issued an order, directing officers who left the ship for any purpose to be armed; being well satisfied that every precaution ought to be taken, in order to prevent surprise in any shape; I also impressed upon all the necessity of circumspection, and of keeping themselves on their guard, which, as I learned from the few incidents related to me by Whippy and others, was highly necessary.

We found lying at anchor a tender to the ship *Leonidas*, Captain Eagleston; she was in charge of his first officer, Mr. Winn, who had been about trading for tortoise-shell at the different islands. He reported to me that one of his men had been enticed from the boat, and had been murdered, and probably eaten.

On the morning of the 9th, at half-past seven, we all went on shore with our instruments, and set off for the peak of Anduloug, apparently but a short hour's walk. Our party consisted of about twenty-five officers and the naturalists, all intent upon their different branches of duty. Being entirely unused to so fatiguing a climb, some gave up, and were obliged to return; the strongest of us found no little exertion necessary to overcome the difficulties which beset our path; every now and then a perpendicular rise of fifteen or twenty feet was to be ascended, then a narrow ridge to be crossed, and again a descent into a deep ravine; the whole was clothed with vines at intervals, and the walking was very precarious, from the numbers of roots and slippery mud we encountered; water continually bubbled across our path from numerous rills that were hurrying headlong down the ravines. The last part of the ascent was sharp and steep, having precipices of several hundreds of feet on each side of us. I saw our native guides each pull a leaf when they came to a spot, and throw it down; on inquiry, Whippy told me it was the place where a man had been clubbed; this was considered as an offering of respect to him, and, if not performed, they have a notion they will soon be killed themselves. Judging from the number of places in which these atonements were made, many victims have suffered in this way. The path we followed over the mountain was the high road to the interior towns, and the inhabitants of these mountains have the character, among the cannibal population of the coast, of being very savage. Just before noon, we reached the top of Anduloug, and succeeded in getting the meridian altitude. The scene that now presented itself was truly beautiful; the picturesque valleys of the island of Ovolau lay in full view beneath us, exhibiting here and there spots of cultivated ground, with groves of cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit; the towns perched upon apparently inaccessible spots, overlooking their small domains; the several peaks rising

around, all cut and broken in the most grotesque forms, only one of which, that of Dille-ovolau, overtopped the one on which we were, being about two hundred feet higher; around us in the distance, we had the various islands of the group, and the fantastic needle-shaped peaks of Vanua-levu were distinctly seen, although at the distance of sixty miles. The detached reefs could be traced for miles, by the water breaking on them, until they were lost in the haze. The squadron lay quietly beneath us, and every danger that could in any way affect the safety of a vessel was as distinctly marked as though it had been already put upon our charts. The results of the different methods used gave the altitude of Andulong two thousand and seventy feet.

The descent proved more toilsome and dangerous than the ascent; the slipperiness of the path frequently brought us in contact with sharp rocks. I have seldom witnessed a party so helpless as ours appeared, in comparison with the natives and white residents, who ran over the rocks like goats. Darkness overtook us before we reached the town; many of the natives, however, brought torches of dried cocoa-nut leaves to light us on our way, and we reached our respective ships without accident, though much fatigued.

The island of Ovolau is eight miles in length, north and south, by six in breadth, east and west; it is of volcanic formation, and its rocks are composed of a conglomerate or pudding-stone; it is high and rugged throughout. The valleys extend only a short distance into the interior, and leave but little level ground; they are, however, exceedingly fertile, with a deep and rich soil, and are well cultivated. Its harbours are all formed by the reefs; that of Levuka is safe, and is easy of access.

On the 12th, whilst engaged at the observatory, the canoe of Tanoa, the king of Ambau, was discovered rounding the southern point of the island: it had a magnificent appearance, with its immense sail of white mats; the pennants streaming from its yard, enoted it at once as belonging to some great chief. It was a fit accompaniment to the magnificent scenery around, and advanced rapidly and gracefully along; it was a single canoe, one hundred feet in length, with an outrigger of large size, ornamented with a great number (two thousand five hundred) of the *Cypræa ovula* shells; its velocity was almost inconceivable, and every one was struck with the adroitness with which it was managed and landed on the beach.\*

Tanoa disembarked, accompanied by his attendants, who are usually Tonga men, forty of whom had the direction and sailing of his canoe. Shortly after landing, he was met by Mr. Vanderford, who had formerly been shipwrecked here, and who had lived under protection for ten months. The meeting was a curious one; the chief walked up to him, and stood looking, first on one side and then on the other, without noticing him, and pretending that he did

as told that Tanoa frequently amuses himself, when sailing, by running down and saving those who belong to them to recover their canoe and property the best can.

not see him ; Mr. Vanderford then walked up to him, clapped him on the back, and called him by name, when they both began laughing heartily. Mr. Vanderford spoke much of the kindness of Tanoa to him during his residence among the people of Ambau : it is true that he robbed him of everything but his skin, but then he protected him from the attacks of others. Shortly afterwards a large double canoe arrived, entirely manned by Tonga people, under their two chiefs, Lajika and Tubou Totai, who were both of them, with about five hundred of their followers, paying Tanoa a visit at Ambau ; they were the sons of Tubou Ninha, and nephews of the celebrated Finau. Tubou Totai told me that he and his brothers had been residing several years in the Feejees ; that they were employed building canoes on some of the eastern islands, and that it generally took them seven years from the time they left Tonga, to finish them and return.

Tanoa took up his abode in the mbure, or council-house, which is the place where all strangers are entertained. Here he seated himself, with his principal attendants about him, when his orator, or prime-minister, made a complimentary oration, at the end of which a clapping of hands took place ; to this oration one of the principal towns-people replied. This is the usual mode of conducting the ceremony : the guest, the moment he arrives, gives a condensed account of all his doings since they last saw each other, ending with many compliments ; to which the host replies in equally flattering terms, wishing him all kinds of happiness and prosperity. This ceremony being over, Tanoa dispatched David Whippy on board to inform me of his arrival, when I immediately sent Lieutenant Carr to call upon him and inform him that my boat would be at the shore in the morning for him. Food was then brought by the Levukians, according to their native custom : it consisted of two large baskets containing each a roasted pig, yams, taro, bread-fruit, &c., which were placed before the company ; this present was accompanied by another speech, to which the prime-minister again replied ; then came clapping of hands, and the feast ended with ava drinking.

On the following morning, when the boat landed, the three chiefs were waiting on the beach, and all came on board, the large canoe following the boat ; everything was prepared to give them a most marked reception, excepting the salute. Tanoa was the first to mount the side of the ship, where I was ready to receive him, with the officers at the gangway. When he reached the deck, he was evidently much astonished, particularly when he saw the marines, with their muskets, presenting arms, and so many officers. The novel sight, to him, of my large Newfoundland dog, Sydney, who did not altogether like the sable appearance of his majesty, the noise of the drum and boatswain's pipe, combined to cause him some alarm, and he evinced a disposition to retire, keeping himself close to the ship's side. He was, after the fashion of his group, almost naked, having a small maro passed around his loins, with long ends to it, and a large turban of tapa cloth in folds about his head, so as almost to hide the expression of his countenance ; his face was bedaubed with

oil and ivory-black, as were also his long beard and mustaches, the natural hue of which I understood was quite gray. From his begrimed look he has obtained the sobriquet of "Old Snuff," among the whites ; he is about sixty-five years old, tall, slender, and rather bent by age ; on his breast, hanging from his neck, he wore an ornament made of mother-of-pearl, tortoise-shell, and ivory, not very neatly put together, and as large as a dinner-plate (called *diva ndina*) ; on his arms he had shell armlets (called *ygato*) made of the trochus-shell, by grinding them down to the form of rings ; his countenance was indicative of intelligence and shrewdness, as far as it could be seen ; his mind is said to be quite active ; he is about five feet ten inches in height, and of small frame ; his features are rather inclined to the European mould, and not the least allied to the negro ; his hair is crispy ; he speaks through his nose, or rather as if he had lost his palate ; his body is, like that of all his people, remarkably hairy. After presenting him to the officers, and receiving the rest of his suite, I led him to the after part of the deck, where mats were laid down, and we all seated ourselves to hold a council ; for I was anxious to finish first the business for which I had particularly sought the interview ; this was to procure the adoption of rules and regulations for the intercourse with foreign vessels, similar to those established in the Samoan group the year preceding. David Whippy became my interpreter, but Tanoa had too much dignity about him to receive the interpretation through Whippy alone, although he understood all that he said perfectly, for Whippy speaks their language well ; but he had his "speech-explaining counsellor," *Malanivanua Vakanduna*, or prime-minister, who was a remarkably good-looking, intelligent man. Whippy gave his name as *Korotumvavalu*, and said that he had great influence with the king. It was amusing to see their mode of conducting the business, and to understand that Tanoa's dignity would be offended by holding discourse with our friend Whippy as interpreter ; not, however (as it was explained to me by *Tubou Totai*), from any objection he had to Whippy, but it would be derogatory to his rank and station.

On the production of the rules and regulations, Tanoa seemed rather confused, and at first appeared dull and stupid ; this I imputed to his *ava* drinking, in which they had all indulged to excess the night before. He did not seem to comprehend the object of them, or as the interpreter expressed it, "could not take the idea." This is not to be wondered at, when it is considered that this was the first act of the kind he had been called upon to do. *Tubou Totai* being a traveller of some note, readily understood their meaning, and through his explanations Tanoa soon comprehended the object, and listened with attention (his whole suite sitting around) to the reading of them, sentence by sentence ; after which he made signs of understanding them, and gave his approval and consent to having them established, and the next day signed them, by making his mark. That which he was to keep I had rolled up and put into a bright round tin case, which he seemed to regard with great pride.

Although I did not anticipate much immediate good from these regulations, yet I was well satisfied they would be of use in restraining the natives. I talked to him much, through the interpreter, of the necessity of protecting the whites, and of punishing those who molest and take from them their goods in case of shipwreck. He listened to me very patiently, and said, "he had always done so; that my advice was very good, but he did not need it; that I must give plenty of it to his son Seru, and talk hard to him; that he would in a short time be king, and needed it."

We now proceeded to show them the ship. Tanoa expressed great astonishment at the wheel, and the manner of steering our large canoe or man-of-war. I told him I was going to order some guns to be fired with balls, when he immediately expressed his joy at it, saying that he thought I was offended with him, from my not firing when he came on board. On my telling him it was not so, but that he must consider it more honourable to him to fire balls, he was well satisfied. It was amusing to see the curiosity excited among them all, when they understood the large guns were to be fired. On the firing taking place, they all made an exclamation of surprise and astonishment—followed with a cluck of the tongue in a high key, putting their fingers to their mouth, and patting it after the fashion of children, or one of our own Indians in giving the war-whoop. Tanoa would not at first look at the ball flying along and throwing up the water. When the second was fired, he uttered the same marks of surprise as the rest; and after the third, he begged that no more should be fired, as he was amply satisfied with the honour, and the noise almost distracted him. As they went about the ship, when they saw anything that pleased them, they would say, *vi naka! vi naka!* In expressing their satisfaction for many things, they repeat the words *vi naka!* several times very quickly.

Suitable presents were now distributed to Tanoa and suite. These were received with clapping of hands. The marines were put through their exercises, marched and countermarched to the music of the drum and fife, which delighted them extremely. After being three hours on board, hearing that the provisions for the feast had been sent on shore, they desired to depart, and were again landed. The Tongese sang their boat-song as they sculled his canoe, but this custom, according to Whippy, is not practised by the Feejees.

I have scarcely seen a finer-looking set of men than composed the suite of Tanoa. There was a great contrast between the Tongese and Feejees; the Tongese have small joints, and well-developed and rounded muscles, while the Feejees' limbs are large and muscular; the latter are slender in body, and apparently inured to hard fare and living. The difference in manner was equally great: in the Tongese there was a native grace combined with fine forms, and an expression and carriage as if educated; whilst there was an air of power and independence in the Feejees that made them claim attention. They at once strike one as peculiar, and unlike the Polynesian natives, having a great deal of activity both of mind and body.



After the king got on shore, they had much talk at the mbure-house, upon all they had seen, and among other things, he remarked, "that my men might be good warriors, but they walked very much like Muscovy ducks," a bird of which they have numbers.

Tanoa sent me word he would like to come and see things without ceremony, to which I readily consented. The next day he came on board, as he said, to look and see for himself; he stayed some hours. When he entered the cabin, I was pouring out some mercury for my artificial horizon, of which I gave him several globules in his hand. He complained of their being hot, and amused himself for a long time in trying to pinch them up, which of course he found it impossible to do, and showed some vexation on being foiled, nipping his fingers together with great vehemence to catch the metal. His actions resembled those of a monkey; he kept looking at his fingers, and seemed astonished that they were not wet, and could not be made to understand how it could wet a button (which I silvered for him), and not his fingers. He talked a great deal of the regulations he had signed. He desired me, when his son Seru paid me a visit, to talk hard to him, and give him plenty of good advice, for he was a young man and frisky; but he himself was old, and saw things that were good and bad.

Ovolau is divided into four districts, viz.: Levuka on the east, Fokambou on the south-west, Barita on the south-east, and Vaki Levuka on the north-west; besides these, there is the interior or mountainous region, called by the natives Livoni. Levuka is *mbati* to the chiefs of Ambau; Fokambou and Barita are *ygali* to the same power, but Vaki Levuka is *ygali* to Levuka, whilst the mountainous regions are independent and predatory. The term *mbati* signifies, allies, or being under protection, though not actually subject to it. *Ygali* expresses that they are subjects, and compelled to pay tribute yearly, or obliged to satisfy the demands of the chiefs, whenever made upon them.

Tui Levuka is the principal chief of Ovolau; his authority extends over eight towns on the east side. He is very friendly to the whites, and is represented by them to be a kind-hearted and honest chief; he is between forty and fifty years of age, and has a pleasing countenance; he rules his village with great popularity. It was amusing to see his bewilderment in attending to the various duties and offices he had to perform, in providing the large supplies of food, consisting of yams, taro, &c., that were required for our use; he was, however, very industrious, and by the aid of Whippy, got through very well, though with much fear and trembling, lest he should be held accountable for any theft or depredations committed on our property, or accident to our men, in the various occupations that were all going forward at the same time. I found him of great use, and was in the habit of receiving from him almost daily visits at the observatory, so that when Whippy was at a loss for any information relative to the islands, Tui Levuka was always at hand to supply it.

The rest of the island is under the Ambau chiefs, or as they

express it, ygali to Ambau, excepting the mountaineers, who are easily brought over to fight on any side, and are, from all accounts, true savages. Tui Levuka has never been properly installed into office, although from his courage and talent as a leader, he is highly respected. The circumstance which has prevented this ceremony from taking place was, that the Ambau chiefs succeeded by stratagem in getting possession of Ovolau about fifteen years ago, or in 1825, before which time it had belonged to Verata, with which Ambau was at war. The Verata chiefs had been always in the habit of installing the chiefs, but since they have lost Ovolau, they refuse to perform the rite, and the Ambau chiefs will not exercise it, on account of religious dread, and the fear of offending their gods.

The islands of Wakaia and Mokungai, near that of Ovolau, are under Tui Levuka; they have but few inhabitants. Tui Levuka's eldest son is the chief of Wakaia.

The town of Levuka has a fine brook running through it, coming from the gorge in the mountain, the water of which is made great use of for irrigating the taro-patches, which, with their yam-grounds, claim the principal attention of the inhabitants; the natives constantly bathe in it, and are remarkably cleanly in their persons.

The Feejee Group is composed of seven districts, and is under as many principal chiefs, viz. :—

1st. Ambau.	5th. Somu-somu.
2nd. Rewa.	6th. Naitasiri.
3rd. Verata.	7th. Mbua.
4th. Mutuata.	

All the minor chiefs on the different islands are more or less connected or subject to one of these, and as the one party or the other prevails in their wars they change masters. War is the constant occupation of the natives, and engrosses all their time and thoughts.

Ambau is now the most powerful of these districts, although it is in itself but a small island on the coast, and connected with Vitilevu; but it is the residence of most of the great chiefs, and, as I have before observed, Tanoa, the most powerful chief of all the islands, lives there. The original inhabitants of Ambau were called Kai Levuka, and are of Tonga descent. During the absence of most of the natives on a trading voyage to Lakemba, the natives of Moturiki, a neighbouring island, made a descent upon Ambau, and took possession of it, ever since which the Kai Levuka have remained a broken people; they still retain their original name, but are now only wandering traders; they have no fixed place of residence, and are somewhat of the character of the Jews. They reside principally at Lakemba, Somu-somu, Vuna, and occasionally at other islands. Most of the exchange trade is in their hands; their hereditary chief resides at Lakemba; they are much respected, and when they visit Ambau they are treated with the best of everything, in acknowledgment of their original right to the soil. At Ambau there are now two classes, one known by the name of Kai Ambau, or original people of Ambau, and the other as Kai Lasikan, who were introduced from a small island near Kantavu, some sixty

years since, to fish for the chiefs; these are considered as inferior to Kai Ambau, but are not exactly slaves. About eight years before our arrival, dissensions arose between these two classes, which resulted in Tanoa's being expelled, and obliged to seek refuge in another part of his dominions.

At the commencement of the present century, Bamivi ruled at Ambau; he was succeeded by his son Ulivou. At this time Verata was the principal city of the Feejees, and its chiefs held the rule: this city or town is about eight miles from Ambau, on Vitilevu; the islands of Ovolau, Goro, Ambatiki, Angau, and others were subject to it, as was also Rewa. The introduction of fire-arms brought about a great change of power; this happened in the year 1809. The brig *Eliza* was wrecked on the reef off Nairai, and had both guns and powder on board. Nairai was at this time a dependency of Ambau, and many of the crew, in order to preserve their lives, showed the natives the use of (to them) the new instrument. Among the crew was a Swede, called Charley Savage, who acted a very conspicuous part in the group for some few years. These men joined the Ambau people, instructed them in the use of the musket, and assisted them in their wars. The chief of Ambau was at that time Ulivou, who gladly availed himself of their services, granting them many privileges; among others, it is said that Charley Savage had a hundred wives! Taking advantage of all the means he now possessed to extend his own power and reduce that of Verata, he finally succeeded, either by fighting or intrigue, in cutting off all its dependencies, leaving the chief of Verata only his town to rule over.

In the early part of Ulivou's reign a conspiracy broke out against him, but he discovered it, and was able to expel the rebels from Ambau. They fled to Rewa, where they made some show of resistance; he, however, overcame them. They then took refuge on Goro, where he again sought them, pursued them to Somu-somu, and drove them thence. Their next step was to go to Lakemba, in order to collect a large fleet of canoes and riches, for the purpose of gaining allies on Vitilevu; but they were again pursued, and being met with at sea, were completely destroyed. This fully established Ulivou's authority, and the latter part of his reign was unmarked by any disturbances or rebellion against his rule. He died in 1829. Tanoa, his brother, the present king, was at this time at Lakemba, on one of the eastern islands, engaged in building a large canoe, which he named Ndranuivio (the *Via* leaf), a large plant of the arum species. When the news reached him he immediately embarked for Ambau, and on his arrival found all the chiefs disposed to make him king. It is said that he at first refused the dignity, lest "they should make a fool of him;" but, by promises and persuasion, he was induced to accede. Preparations were accordingly made to instal him. This ceremony is performed by the Lewuka people, the original inhabitants of Ambau, uniting with these of Kamba, inhabiting a town near Kamba Point, the most eastern point of Vitilevu, and about ten miles east of Ambau. As soon as the chiefs of Ambau have elected a king, they make him r

grand ava party, and the first cup is handed to the newly-elected chief, who receives the title of Vunivalu. Some time after this, the Kamba and Levuka people are called in to make the installation, and confer the title of royalty. While the preparations for this ceremony were going on, the chiefs of Ambau were restless, and determined to make war upon Rewa, a place always in rivalry, about fifteen miles distant from Ambau, to the south. Tanoa, however, was well disposed towards the people of this district, being a Vasu of Rewa. There are three kinds of Vasus, Vasu-togai, Vasu-levu, and Vasu. The first is the highest title, and is derived from the mother being queen of Ambau. Vasu-levu is where the mother is married to one of the great chiefs of Rewa, Somu-somu, or Muthuata, and the name of Vasu extends not only to the minor chiefs, but also down to the common people. It confers rights and privileges of great extent, and is exclusively derived from the mother being a high chief, or wife of some of the reigning kings. Tanoa therefore used all his efforts to prevent an outbreak, but without success, and he was compelled to carry on the war. He, however, secretly gave encouragement, and, it is said, even assistance, to the opposite party; this becoming known, produced much difficulty and discontent among the Ambau chiefs and people. Notwithstanding this, he at length contrived to bring about a truce, and invited many of the Rewa chiefs and people to visit him, whom he received with great distinction. This incensed his new subjects very much; and on his presenting to the late enemy his new and large canoe, Ndranuivio, their indignation was greatly increased, and caused some of them even to enter into a plot to murder him. Among the conspirators were the head chiefs, Seru Tanoa, Komaivunindavu, Mara, and Dandau, of Ambau, Ngiondrakete, chief of Nikelo, and Masomalua, of Viwa. Tanoa, on being advised of this took no means to frustrate their plans openly, but appears to have been somewhat on his guard.

In the third year of his reign, whilst on a visit to Ovolau to attend to his plantation of yams, the rebellion broke out, of which he was soon advised, and fled to Goro, where his enemies followed him; but he continued his flight to Somu-somu, the people of which had been always his friends and supporters. Here he found protection, his defenders being too numerous for his enemies. The conspirators tried, however, to urge upon them the propriety of giving up their king, saying that they only desired he should return and reign over them; but the people of Somu-somu deemed this too shallow a pretence to be listened to. After Tanoa's expulsion, the rebels installed his brother Komaino-karinakula as king. Tanoa remained under the protection of the chief of Somu-somu for three years, in gratitude for which he made over to him all the windward islands, viz.: Lakemba, Naiau, &c. During all this period, Tanoa was carrying on a sort of warfare against the rebels, with the aid of the natives of the eastern group and those of Rewa, who remained faithful to him, encouraging them all in his power, collecting his revenue from the former, which he distributed bountifully among his adherents, and buying over others to his interests.

As Tanoa was about to sail for Lakemba, word was brought to him that his nephew, called Nona, residing on Naiau, a neighbouring island, had been bribed by the chiefs to put him to death. He therefore, on his way, stopped at Naiau, and when his nephew approached him under the guise of friendship, Tanoa at once caused him, with all his family and adherents, to be seized and put to death.

Tanoa, finding his strength increasing, concluded to prosecute the war with more activity. In order to do so, after having first collected all his means, he removed to Rewa, where he established himself, and began his secret intrigues to undermine and dissipate his enemies' forces. He was so successful in this, that in a short time he had gained over all their allies, as well as the towns on the main land or large island in the vicinity, and even many of the chiefs at Ambau. The latter object was effected through the influence of his son, Ratu Seru, who had been suffered to remain there during the whole war, although not without frequent attempts being made on his life, which he escaped from through his unceasing vigilance and that of his adherents. During the latter part of the time, he was constantly in communication with his father, who kept him well supplied with the articles in which the riches of the natives consist: these were liberally distributed among the Lasikaus, or fishermen, and gained the most of this class over to his interests. All things being arranged, on a certain day the signal was given, and most of the allies declared for Tanoa. Whilst the rebel chiefs were in consternation at this unexpected event, the Lasikaus rose and attacked them. A severe contest ensued; but it is said the fishermen, having built a wall dividing their part of the town from that of the Ambau people, set fire to their opponents' quarter, and reduced it to ashes. The latter fled for refuge to the main land, across the shallow isthmus, but found themselves here opposed by the king with his army, who slaughtered all those who had escaped from Ambau. This done, Tanoa entered Ambau in triumph, and receiving the submission of all the neighbouring towns, resumed the government, after an absence of five years. This recovery of his kingdom took place in 1837. Being thus re-established, Tanoa, in order effectually to destroy his enemies, sent messages to the different towns, with presents, to induce the inhabitants of the places whither the rebels had fled to put them to death. In this he soon succeeded, and their former friends were thus made the instruments of their punishment. Tanoa having succeeded in establishing his rule, put a stop to all further slaughter; but all the principal chiefs who had opposed him, except Masomalua, of Viwa, had been slain. Tanoa's authority was now acknowledged in all his former dominions; but this has not put an end to the petty wars. The three chief cities, Ambau, Rewa, and Naitasiri, are frequently at war, notwithstanding they are all three closely connected by alliances with each other. Here, in fact, is the great seat of power in the group, though it varies occasionally. These three places form, as it were, a triangle, the two former being on the north and south coasts, while that of Naitasiri is situated inland, on the Wailevu,

Peale's River. These disturbances most frequently occur between Ambau and Rewa. Tanoa takes no part in these contests, but when he thinks the belligerents have fought long enough, he sends the Rewa people word to "come and beg pardon," after the Feejee custom, which they invariably do, even though they may have been victorious.

Mr. Brackenridge, our horticulturist, was soon busily engaged in preparing the garden for our seeds.

The digging of the ground was performed with a long pointed pole, which they thrust into the ground with both hands, and by swinging on the upper end, they contrived to raise up large pieces of the soil, which was quite hard. The centre of the garden had been a repository for their dead, where many stones had once been placed, which had become scattered. As they approached the pile, they simultaneously came to a stop, and began to murmur among themselves, using the words *mate mate*. No inducement could persuade them to proceed, until it was explained to them by David Whippy, that there was no desire to dig in the direction of the grave, which was to be left sacred. A large quantity of seeds, of various kinds of vegetables and fruits, were planted.

On the 19th, Seru, the son of Tanoa, arrived from Ambau, for the purpose of visiting me. I immediately sent him and his suite an invitation to meet me at the observatory on the following day, with which he complied. Seru is extremely good-looking, being tall, well-made, and athletic. He exhibits much intelligence, both in his expression of countenance and manners. His features and figure resemble those of a European, and he is graceful and easy in his carriage. The instruments at the observatory excited his wonder and curiosity. He, in common with the other natives, believed that they were intended for the purpose of looking at the Great Spirit, and in consequence paid them the greatest respect and reverence. This opinion saved us much trouble, for they did not presume to approach the instruments; and although some of them were always to be found without the boundary which had been traced to limit their approach, they never intruded within it. They always behaved civilly, and said they only came to sara-sara (look on).

I afterwards took Seru on board the Vincennes, where, as his father had recommended, I gave him plenty of good advice, to which he seemed to pay great attention. I had been told that he would probably exhibit hauteur and an arrogant bearing, but he manifested nothing of the kind. He appeared rather, as I had been told by his father I would find him, "young and frisky." He was received with the same attentions that had been paid to his father. The firing of the guns seemed to take his fancy much, and he was desirous that I should gratify him by continuing to fire them longer. The whole party, himself included, showed more pleasure, and were much more liberal in their exclamations of *vi naka! vi naka!* and *whoo!* using them more energetically than the king's party, as might be naturally expected from a younger set of natives. Seru is quite ingenious; he took the musket given him to pieces as

quickly, and used it with as much adroitness as if he had been a gunsmith. His ambati (priest) was with him, and the party all appeared greatly delighted. On the whole I was much pleased with him during his visit; shortly afterwards he visited the ship during my absence, and displayed a very different bearing, so much so as to require to be checked. I learned a circumstance which would serve to prove that the reputation he bears is pretty well founded. He on one occasion had sent word to one of the islands (Goro, I believe), for the chief to have a quantity of cocoa-nut oil ready for him by a certain time. Towards the expiration of the specified interval, Seru went to the island and found it was not ready. The old chief of the island pleaded the impossibility of compliance, from want of time, and promised to have it ready as soon as possible. Seru told him he was a great liar, and without further words, struck him on the head and killed him on the spot. This is only one of many instances of the exercise of arbitrary authority over their vassals.

One day, while at the observatory, I was greatly surprised at seeing one whom I took to be a Feejee-man enter my tent, a circumstance so inconsistent with the respect to our prescribed limits, of which I have spoken. His colour, however, struck me as lighter than that of any native I had yet seen. He was a short, wrinkled old man, but appeared to possess great vigour and activity. He had a beard that reached to his middle, and but little hair, of a reddish gray colour, on his head. He gave me no time for inquiry, but at once addressed me in broad Irish, with a rich Milesian brogue. In a few minutes he made me acquainted with his story, which, by his own account, was as follows.

His name was Paddy Connel, but the natives called him Berry; he was born in the county of Clare in Ireland; had run away from school when he was a little fellow, and after wandering about as a vagabond, was pressed into the army in the first Irish rebellion. At the time the French landed in Ireland, the regiment to which he was attached marched at once against the enemy, and soon arrived on the field of battle, where they were brought to the charge. The first thing he knew or heard, the drums struck up a White Boys' tune, and his whole regiment went over and joined the French, with the exception of the officers, who had to fly. They were then marched against the British, and were soon defeated by Lord Cornwallis; it was a hard fight, and Paddy found himself among the slain. When he thought the battle was over, and night came on, he crawled off and reached home. He was then taken up and tried for his life, but was acquitted; he was, however, remanded to prison, and busied himself in effecting the escape of some of his comrades. On this being discovered, he was confined in the Black Hole, and soon after sent to Cork, to be put on board a convict-ship bound to New South Wales. When he arrived there, his name was not found on the books of the prisoners, consequently he had been transported by mistake, and was, therefore, set at liberty. He then worked about for several years, and collected a small sum of money, but unfortunately fell into bad company, got drunk, and lost it all. Just

about this time Captain Sartori, of the ship *General Wellesley*, arrived at Sydney. Having lost a great part of his crew, by sickness and desertion, he desired to procure hands for his ship, which was still at Sandalwood Bay, and obtained thirty-five men, one of whom was Paddy Connel. At the time they were ready to depart, a French privateer, *Le Gloriant*, Captain Dubardieu, put into Sydney, when Captain Sartori engaged a passage for himself and his men to the Feejees. On their way they touched at Norfolk Island, where the ship struck, and damaged her keel so much that they were obliged to put into the Bay of Islands for repairs. Paddy asserts that a difficulty had occurred here between Captain Sartori and his men about their provisions, which was amicably settled. The *Gloriant* finally sailed from New Zealand for Tongataboo, where they arrived just after the capture of a vessel, which he supposed to have been the *Port-au-Prince*, as they had obtained many articles from the natives, which had evidently belonged to some large vessel. Here they remained some months, and then sailed for Sandalwood Bay, where the men, on account of their former quarrel with Captain Sartori, refused to go on board the *General Wellesley*: some of them shipped on board the *Gloriant*, and others, with Paddy, determined to remain on shore with the natives. He added, that Captain Sartori was kind to him, and at parting had given him a pistol, cutlass, and an old good-for-nothing musket; these, with his sea-chest and a few clothes, were all that he possessed. He had now lived forty years among these savages. After hearing his whole story, I told him I did not believe a word of it; to which he answered, that the main part of it was true, but he might have made some mistakes, as he had been so much in the habit of lying to the Feejeeans, that he hardly now knew when he told the truth, adding that he had no desire to tell anything but the truth.

Paddy turned out to be a very amusing fellow, and possessed an accurate knowledge of the Feejee character. Some of the whites told me that he was more than half Feejee; indeed he seemed to delight in showing how nearly he was allied to them in feeling and propensities; and, like them, seemed to fix his attention upon trifles. He gave me a droll account of his daily employments, which it would be inappropriate to give here, and finished by telling me the only wish he had then, was to get for his little boy, on whom he doted, a small hatchet, and the only articles he had to offer for it were a few old hens. On my asking him if he did not cultivate the ground, he said at once, no; he found it much easier to get his living by telling the Feejeeans stories, which he could always make good enough for them; these, and the care of his two little boys, and his hens, and his pigs, when he had any, gave him ample employment and plenty of food. He had lived much at Rewa, and until lately had been a resident at Levuka, but had, in consequence of his intrigues, been expelled by the white residents, to the island of Ambatiki. It appeared that they had unanimously come to the conclusion that if he did not remove, they would be obliged to put him to death for their own safety. I could not induce Whippy or



Tom to give me the circumstances that occasioned this determination, and Paddy would not communicate more than that his residence on Ambatiki was a forced one, and that it was as though he was living out of the world, rearing pigs, fowls, and children. Of the last description of live stock he had forty-eight, and hoped that he might live to see fifty born to him. He had had one hundred wives.



PATAGONIANS.

## CHAPTER III.

## CUSTOMS OF THE FEEJEE GROUP.

Introductory Remarks—Personal Appearance of the Natives—Their Expression of Countenance—Their Character—Division of Tribes and Rank—Vasus—Feejee Wars  
 —Ceremonies in Declaring War—Addresses to the Warriors—Flags—Fortifications  
 —Sieges—Mode of Suing for Peace—Ceremonies of a Capitulation—Subject Tribes  
 —Religion—Tradition of the Origin of Races and of a Deluge—Gods—Belief in Spirits—Ndengei, their Supreme God—His Sons—Inferior Gods—Other Religious  
 Opinions—Idea of a Second Death—Mbures, or Spirit-Houses—Ambati, or Priests  
 —Their Jugglery—Their Influence—Oracle at Levuka—Sacrifices—Religious  
 Festivals—Marriges—Infidelity and Its Punishment—Births—Consequences of the  
 Religious Belief—Parents put to Death—Suicide—Wives Strangled at Funerals—  
 Deformed and Diseased Persons put to Death—Human Sacrifices—Funeral Rites  
 —Mourning—Cannibalism—Price of Human Life—Attacks on Foreign Vessels.



BEFORE proceeding to the narration of the operations of the squadron in the Feejee Group, it would appear expedient to give some account of the people who inhabit the islands of which it is composed. A reader unacquainted with their manners and customs can hardly appreciate the difficulties with which the performance of our duties was attended, or the obstacles which impeded our progress. Our information, in relation to the almost unknown race which occupies the Feejee Group, was obtained from personal observation, from the statements of the natives

themselves, and from white residents. I also derived much information from the missionaries, who, influenced by motives of religion, have undertaken the arduous, and as yet unprofitable task, of introducing the light of civilisation, and the illumination of the Gospel into this benighted region.

Although, as we shall see, the natives of Feejee have made considerable progress in several of the useful arts, they are, in many respects, the most barbarous and savage race now existing upon the globe. The intercourse they have had with white men has produced some effect on their political condition, but does not appear to have

had the least influence in mitigating the barbarous ferocity of their character. In this group, therefore, may be seen the savage in his state of nature; and a comparison of his character with that of the natives of the groups in which the Gospel has been profitably preached, will enable our readers to form a better estimate of the value of missionary labours than can be well acquired in any other manner.

The Feejeans are generally above the middle height, and exhibit a great variety of figure. Among them the chiefs are tall, well-made, and muscular; while the lower orders manifest the meagreness arising from laborious service and scanty nourishment. Their complexion lies, in general, between that of the black and copper-coloured races, although instances of both extremes are to be met with, thus indicating a descent from two different stocks. One of these, the copper-coloured, is no doubt the same as that whence the Tongese are derived.

None of them equal the natives of Tonga in beauty of person. The faces of the greater number are long, with a large mouth, good and well-set teeth, and a well-formed nose. Instances, however, are by no means rare, of narrow and high foreheads, flat noses, and thick lips, with a broad, short chin; still they have nothing about them of the negro type. Even the frizzled appearance of the hair, which is almost universal, and which at first sight seems a distinct natural characteristic, I was, after a long acquaintance with their habits, inclined to ascribe to artificial causes. Besides the long bushy beards and mustaches, which are always worn by the chiefs, they have a great quantity of hair on their bodies. This, with the peculiar proportion between their thighs and the calves of their legs, brings them nearer to the whites than any of the Polynesian races visited by us.

The eyes of the Feejeans are usually fine, being black and penetrating. Some, however, have them red and bloodshot, which may probably be ascribed to *ava* drinking.

The expression of their countenance is usually restless and watchful; they are observing and quick in their movements.

The wood-cut will give a good idea of the appearance of a wild Feejee man; it is very characteristic.

The hair of the boys is cropped close, while that of the young girls is allowed to grow. In the latter it is to be seen naturally arranged in tight cork-screw locks, many inches in length, which fall in all directions from the crown of the head. The natural colour of the hair of the girls can hardly be ascertained, for they are in the habit of acting upon it by lime and pigments, which make it white, red, brown, or black, according to the taste of the individual.



WILD FEEJEE MAN.

When the boys grow up, their hair is no longer cropped, and great pains is taken to spread it out into a mop-like form. The chiefs, in particular, pay great attention to the dressing of their heads, and for this purpose all of them have barbers, whose sole occupation is the care of their masters' heads. The duty of these functionaries is held to be of so sacred a nature that their hands are tabooed from all other employment, and they are not even permitted to feed themselves.\* To dress the head of a chief occupies several hours, and the hair is made to spread out from the head on every side, to a distance that is often eight inches. The beard, which is also carefully nursed, often reaches the breast, and when a Feejean has these important parts of his person well dressed, he exhibits a degree of conceit that is not a little amusing.

In the process of dressing the hair, it is well anointed with oil, mixed with a carbonaceous black, until it is completely saturated.† The barber then takes the hair-pin, which is a long and slender rod, made of tortoise-shell or bone, and proceeds to twitch almost every separate hair. This causes it to frizzle and stand erect. The bush of hair is then trimmed smooth, by singeing it, until it has the appearance of an immense wig. When this has been finished, a piece of tapa, so fine as to resemble tissue-paper, is wound in light folds around it, to protect the hair from the dew or dust. This covering, which has the look of a turban, is called sala, and none but chiefs are allowed to wear it; any attempt to assume this head-dress by a kai-si, or common person, would be immediately punished with death. The sala, when taken care of, will last three weeks or a month, and the hair is not dressed except when it is removed; but the high chiefs and dandies seldom allow a day to pass without changing the sala, and having their hair put in order.

The Feejeans are extremely changeable in their disposition. They are fond of joking, indulge in laughter, and will at one moment appear to give themselves up to merriment, from which they in an instant pass to demon-like anger, which they evince by looks which cannot be misunderstood by those who are the subjects of it, and particularly if in the power of the enraged native. Their anger seldom finds vent in words, but has the character of sullenness. A chief, when offended, seldom speaks a word, but puts sticks in the ground, to keep the cause of his anger constantly in his recollection. The objects of it now understand that it is time to appease him by propitiatory offerings, if they would avoid the bad consequences. When these have been tendered to the satisfaction of the offended dignitary, he pulls up the sticks as a signal that he is pacified.

The Feejeans are addicted to stealing, are treacherous in the extreme, and, with all their ferocity, cowards. The most universal trait of their character is their inclination to lying. They tell a falsehood in preference, when the truth would better answer their

\* These barbers are called a-vu-ni-ulu. They are attached to the household of the chiefs in numbers of from two to a dozen.

† The oil is procured by scraping and squeezing a nut called maulctu; the black is prepared from the laudi nut.

purpose ; and in conversing with them the truth can only be obtained by cautioning them not to talk like a Feejee-man, or, in other words, not to tell any lies.

Adroit lying is regarded as an accomplishment, and one who is expert at it is sure of a comfortable subsistence and a friendly reception wherever he goes. Their own weakness in this respect does not render them suspicious, and nothing but what is greatly exaggerated is likely to be believed. In illustration of the latter trait, I was told by Paddy Connel, that he never told them the truth when he wished to be believed, for of it they were always incredulous. He maintained that it was absolutely necessary to tell them lies in order to receive credence.

Covetousness is probably one of the strongest features of the Feejeean character, and is the incentive to many crimes. I have, however, been assured, that a white man might travel with safety from one end of an island to the other, provided he had nothing about him to excite their desire of acquisition. This may be true, but it is impossible to say that even the most valueless article of our manufactures might not be coveted by them. With all this risk of being put to death, hospitable entertainment and reception in their houses is almost certain, and while in them, perfect security may be relied on. The same native who within a few yards of his house would murder a coming or departing guest for the sake of a knife or a hatchet, will defend him at the risk of his own life as soon as he has passed his threshold.

The people of the Feejee Group are divided into a number of tribes, independent and often hostile to each other. In each tribe great and marked distinctions of rank exist. The classes, which are readily distinguished, are as follows : 1. kings ; 2. chiefs ; 3. warriors ; 4. landholders (matanivanua) ; 5. slaves (kai-si). The last have nominally little influence ; but in this group, as in other countries, the mere force of numbers is sufficient to counterbalance or overcome the force of the prescriptive rights of the higher and less numerous classes. This has been the case at Ambau, where the people at no distant period rose against and drove out their kings.

Among the most singular of the Feejee customs, and of whose origin it is difficult to form a rational opinion, is that which gives certain rights to a member of another tribe, who is called Vasu (nephew). To give an idea of the character of this right, and the manner in which it is exercised, I shall cite the case of Tancoa. He, although the most powerful chief in the group, feels compelled to comply with, and acknowledges Thokanauto (better known to foreigners as Mr. Phillips) as Vasu-togai of Ambau, who has in consequence the right of sending thither for anything he may want, and even from Tancoa himself. On Tancoa's first visit to me, among other presents, I gave him one of Hall's patent rifles. This Thokanauto heard of, and determined to have it, and Tancoa had no other mode of preserving it than by sending it away from Ambau. When Rivaletta, Tancoa's youngest son, visited me one day at the observatory, he had the rifle with him, and told me that his father had put it into his hands, in order that it might not be demanded.

Afterwards, when Thokanauto himself paid me a visit, he had in his possession one of the watches that had been given to Seru, and told me openly that he would have the musket also. While at Levuka he appropriated to himself a canoe and its contents, leaving the owner to find his way back to Ambau as he could. The latter made no complaint, and seemed to consider the act as one of course.

When the Vasu-togai or Vasu-levu of a town or district visits it, he is received with honours even greater than those paid to the chief who rules over it. All bow in obedience to his will, and he is received with clapping of hands and the salutation, "O sa vi naka lako mai vaka turanga Ratu Vasu-levu" (Hail! good is the coming hither of our noble Lord Nephew).

When the Vasu-levu of Mbenga goes thither, honours almost divine are rendered him, for he is supposed to be descended in a direct line from gods. Mbenga formerly played a very conspicuous part in the affairs of the group, but of late years it happened to get into difficulties with Rewa, in consequence of which Ngaraningiou attacked it, conquered its inhabitants, and massacred many of them. Since that time it has had little or no political influence.

The hostile feelings of the different tribes make war the principal employment of the males throughout the group; and where there is so strong a disposition to attack their neighbours, plausible reasons for beginning hostilities are not difficult to find. The wars of the Feejeeans usually arise from some accidental affront or misunderstanding, of which the most powerful party takes advantage to extend his dominions or increase his wealth. This is sometimes accomplished by a mere threat, by which the weaker party is terrified into submission to the demand for territory or property.

When threats fail, a formal declaration of war is made by an officer, resembling in his functions the heralds (*feciales*) of the Romans. Every town has one of these, who is held in much respect, and whose words are always taken as true. When he repairs to the town of the adverse party, where he is always received with great attention, he carries with him an *ava root*, which he presents to the chiefs, saying, "Korai sa tatau, sa kalu" (I bid you good-bye, it is war). The usual answer is, "Sa vi naka, sa lako, talo ki" (It is well, return home). Preparations are then made on both sides, and when they mean to have a fair open fight, a messenger is sent from one party to ask the other what town they intend to attack first. The reply is sometimes true, but is sometimes intended merely as a cover for their real intentions. In the latter case, however, it rarely succeeds; in the former, both parties repair to the appointed place.

In preparing for war, and during its continuance, they abstain from the company of women; and there were instances related to me, where this abstinence had continued for several years.

When a body made up of several tribes has approached near the enemy, the *vunivalu*, or general, makes a speech to each separate tribe. In this he does all in his power, by praises, taunts, or exhortations, as he thinks best suited to the purpose, to excite them

to deeds of bravery. To one he will talk in the following manner:—

"You say you are a brave people. You have made me great promises, now we will see how you will keep them. To me you look more like slaves than fighting men."

Or thus:—"Here are these strangers come to fight with us. Let us see who are the best men."

To another tribe he will say: "Where do you come from?" Some one of the tribe starts up, and striking the ground with his club, replies by naming its place of residence. The *vunivalu* then continues: "Ah! I have heard of you; you boast yourselves to be brave men; we shall see what you are; I doubt whether you will do much. You seem to be more like men fit to plant and dig yams than to fight."

After he has thus gone through his forces, he cries out: "Attend!" On this the whole clap their hands. He then tells them to prepare for battle, to which they answer, "*Mana ndina*" (it is true).

In some parts of the group the forces are marshalled in bands, each of which has a banner or flag, under which it fights. The staff of these flags (*druatina*) is about twenty feet in length, and the flags themselves, which are of corresponding dimensions, are made of *tapa*. As an instance, the forces of Rewa are arranged in four bands, viz.:—

1. The *Valevelu*, or king's own people, who are highest in rank, and held in the greatest estimation.
2. The *Niaku ne tumbua*, the people of the *vunivalu*, or fighting chief.
3. The *Kai Rewa*, or landholders of Rewa.
4. The *Kai Ratu*, which is composed of the offspring of chiefs by common women.

The flags are distinguished from each other by markings; that of the *Valevelu* has four or five vertical black stripes, about a foot wide, with equal spaces of white left between them; the rest of the flag is white.

In the flag of the *vunivalu* the black and white stripes are horizontal.

The flag of the *Kai Rewa* is all white.

The *Kai Ratu* use, as flags, merely strips of *tapa*, or array themselves under the flag of a chief. Each of the first three bands is kept distinct, and fights under its own flag, in the place which the commander appoints. The flag of the latter is always longest, and is raised highest, whether he be king or only *vunivalu*. To carry a flag is considered as a post of the greatest distinction, and is confined to the bravest and most active of the tribe.

A town, when besieged, has also its signal of pride. This consists of a sort of kite, of a circular shape, made of palm-leaves, and decorated with ribands of white and coloured *tapa*. When an enemy approaches the town, if the wind be favourable, the kite is raised by means of a very long cord. The cord is passed through a hole made near the top of a pole thirty or forty feet in height, which is erected in a conspicuous part of the town. The cord is then drawn

backwards and forwards through the hole, in such a manner as to be kept floating as a signal of defiance, immediately over the approaching enemy. The attacking party, excited by this, rush forward with their flag, and plant it as near the walls as possible. If the garrison be sufficiently strong they will sally out and endeavour to take the flag; for it is considered as a great triumph to capture a flag, and a foul disgrace to lose one.

When flags are taken, they are always hung up as trophies in the mbure; and in that of Levuka I saw many small ones suspended, which had been taken from mountaineers of the interior of the island.

The towns are usually fortified with a strong palisade made of bread-fruit or cocoa-nut trees, around which is a ditch partly filled with water. There are usually two entrances, in which are gates, so narrow as to admit only one person at a time. The village of Waitora, about two miles to the north of Levuka, is justly considered by the natives as a place of great strength. It is situated upon a hill, and can be approached only by a narrow path along the sloping edge of a rocky ridge. At the extremity of this path is a level space of about an acre in extent, which is surrounded by a stone wall and filled with houses. In the centre is a rock, about twenty feet high, and one hundred feet square. The top of this is reached by a natural staircase, formed by the roots of a banyan tree, which insert themselves in the crevices of the rock. The tree itself, with its numerous trunks, spreads out and overshadows the whole of the rock. A house stands in the middle of the rock. This contains two Feejee drums, which, when struck, attract crowds of natives together.

Some of the principal towns are not fortified at all. This is the case with Ambau, Muthuata, and Rewa. The fortifications of which we have spoken, whether palisades and ditch or stone walls, are constructed with great ingenuity, particularly the holds to which they retire when hard pressed. For these a rock or hill, as inaccessible as possible, is chosen, with a small level space on the top. Around this space a palisade is constructed of upright posts of cocoa-nut tree, about nine inches in diameter, and about two feet apart. To the outside of these, wicker-work is fastened with strong lashings of sennit. Over each entrance is a projecting platform, about nine feet square, for the purpose of guarding the approach by hurling spears and shooting arrows. The gates or entrances are shut by sliding bars from the inside, and are defended on each side by structures of strong wicker-work, resembling bastions, which are placed about fifteen feet apart. When there is a ditch, the bridge across it is composed of two narrow logs. The whole arrangement affords an excellent defence against any weapons used by the natives of these islands, and even against musketry.

Sieges of these fortified places seldom continue long; for if the attacking party be not speedily successful, the want of provisions, of which there is seldom a supply for more than two or three days, compels them to retire. Although such assaults are of short duration, the war often continues for a long time without any decisive result.



If one of the parties desires peace, it sends an ambassador, who carries a whale's tooth, as a token of submission. The victorious party often requires the conquered to yield the right of soil, in which case the latter bring with them a basket of the earth from their district. The acceptance of this is the signal of peace, but from that time the conquered become liable to the payment of a yearly tribute. In addition to this burden, the more powerful tribes often send word to their dependencies that they have not received a present for a long time; and if the intimation has no effect, the message is speedily followed by an armed force, by which the reculant tribe or town is sometimes entirely destroyed. The bearer of such a message carries with him a piece of ava, which is given to the chief of the town in council, who causes it to be brewed, after which the message is delivered. But when an errand is sent to Ambau, or any superior chief, the messenger always carries with him a gift of provisions and other valuables.

If a town is compelled to entreat to be permitted to capitulate, for the purpose of saving the lives of its people, its chiefs and principal inhabitants are required to crawl towards their conquerors upon their hands and knees, suing for pardon and imploring mercy. The daughters of the chiefs are also brought forward and offered to the victors, while from the lower class victims are selected to be sacrificed to the gods. Even such hard conditions do not always suffice, but a whole population is sometimes butchered in cold blood, or reduced to a condition of slavery. To avoid such terrible consequences, most of the weak tribes seek security by establishing themselves on high and almost inaccessible rocks. Some of these are so steep that it would be hardly possible for any but one of the natives to climb them; yet even their women may be seen climbing their rocky and almost perpendicular walls, to heights of fifty or sixty feet, and carrying loads of water, yams, &c.

Tribes that do not possess such fastnesses are compelled to take refuge under the protection of some powerful chief, in consideration of which they are bound to aid their protectors in case of war. They are summoned to do this by a messenger, who carries a whale's tooth, and sometimes directs the number of men they are to send. A refusal would bring war upon themselves, and is therefore seldom ventured. There is, however, a recent instance in which such aid was refused with impunity by Tui Levuka, who was persuaded by the white residents\* to disobey a summons sent from Ambau. Having done this, the people of Levuka felt it necessary to prepare for defence, by repairing their stone walls, and provisioning their stronghold in the mountains. They thus stood upon their guard for a long time, but were not attacked.

The religion of the Feejeans, and the practices which are founded

\* This is not the only instance in which the white residents have exercised a salutary influence. It is fortunate for the natives that those who have settled among them have been principally of such a character as has tended to their improvement. There are, however, some exceptions, by whose bad example the natives have been led into many excesses.

upon it, differ materially from those of the lighter-coloured Polynesian people.

The tradition given by the natives of the origin of the various races is singular, and not very flattering to themselves. All are said to have been born of one pair of first parents. The Feejee was first born, but acted wickedly and was black; he therefore received but little clothing. Tonga was next born; he acted less wickedly, was whiter, and had more clothes given him. White men, or Papalangis, came last; they acted well, were white, and had plenty of clothes.

They have a tradition of a great flood or deluge, which they call Walavu-levu. Their account of it is as follows: after the islands had been peopled by the first man and woman, a great rain took place, by which they were finally submerged; but, before the highest places were covered by the waters, two large double canoes made their appearance; in one of these was Rokora, the god of carpenters, in the other Rokola, his head workman, who picked up some of the people, and kept them on board until the waters had subsided, after which they were again landed on the island. It is reported that in former times canoes were always kept in readiness against another inundation.

The persons thus saved, eight in number, were landed at Mbenga, where the highest of their gods is said to have made his first appearance. By virtue of this tradition, the chiefs of Mbenga take rank before all others, and have always acted a conspicuous part among the Feejees. They style themselves Ngali-duva-ki-langi (subject to heaven alone).

The Pantheon of the Feejee Group contains many deities. The first of these in rank is Ndengei. He is worshipped in the form of a large serpent, alleged to dwell in a district under the authority of Ambau, which is called Nakauvaudra, and is situated near the western end of Vitilevu. To this deity they believe that the spirit goes immediately after death, for purification or to receive sentence. From his tribunal the spirit is supposed to return and remain about the mbure or temple of its former abode.

All spirits, however, are not believed to be permitted to reach the judgment-seat of Ndengei, for upon the road it is supposed that an enormous giant, armed with a large axe, stands constantly on the watch. With this weapon he endeavours to wound all who attempt to pass him. Those who are wounded dare not present themselves to Ndengei, and are obliged to wander about in the mountains. Whether the spirit be wounded or not, depends not upon the conduct in life, but they ascribe an escape from the blow wholly to good luck.

Stories are prevalent of persons who have succeeded in passing the monster without injury. One of these, which was told me by a white pilot, will suffice to show the character of this superstition.

A powerful chief, who had died and been interred with all due ceremony, finding that he had to pass this giant, who, in the legend, is stationed in the Moturiki Channel, loaded his gun, which had been buried with him, and prepared for the encounter. The giant seeing

the danger that threatened him, was on the look-out to dodge the ball, which he did when the piece was discharged. Of this the chief took advantage to rush by him before he could recover himself, reached the judgment-seat of Ndengei, and now enjoys celestial happiness!

Besides the entire form of a serpent, Ndengei is sometimes represented as having only the head and half the body of the figure of that reptile, while the remaining portion of his form is a stone, significant of eternal duration.

No one pretends to know the origin of Ndengei, but many assert that he has been seen by mortals. Thus, he is reported to have appeared under the form of a man, dressed in masi (white tapa), after the fashion of the natives, on the beach, near Ragi-ragi. Thence he proceeded to Mbenga, where, although it did not please him, on account of its rocky shores, he made himself manifest, and thence went to Kantavu. Not liking the latter place, he went to Rewa, where he took up his abode. Here he was joined by another powerful god, called Warua, to whom after a time he consented to resign this locality, on condition of receiving the choicest parts of all kinds of food, as the heads of the turtle and pig—which are still held sacred. Under this agreement he determined to proceed to Verata, where he has resided ever since, and by him Verata is believed to have been rendered impregnable.

Next in rank, in their mythology, stand two sons of Ndengei, Tokairambe and Tui Lakemba.\* These act as mediators between their father and inferior spirits. They are said to be stationed, in the form of men, at the door of their father's cabin, where they receive and transmit to him the prayers and supplications of departed souls.

The grandchildren of Ndengei are third in rank. They are innumerable, and each has a peculiar duty to perform, of which the most usual is that of presiding over islands and districts.

A fourth class is supposed to be made up of more distant relatives of Ndengei. These preside over separate tribes, by whose priests they are consulted. They have no jurisdiction beyond their own tribe, and possess no power but what is deputed to them by superior deities.

In addition to these benignant beings they believe in malicious and mischievous gods. These reside in their Hades, which they call Mbulu (underneath the world). There reigns a cruel tyrant, with grim aspect, whom they name Lothia. Samuialo (destroyer of souls) is his colleague, and sits on the brink of a huge fiery cavern, into which he precipitates departed spirits.

These notions, although the most prevalent, are not universal. Thus, the god of Muthuata is called Radinadina. He is considered as the son of Ndengei. Here also Rokora, the god of carpenters, is held in honour; and they worship also Rokavona, the god of fishermen.

The people of Lakemba believe that departed souls proceed to

\* Some say he has but one son, called Mautu (the bread-fruit).

Namukaliwu, a place in the vicinity of the sea. Here they for a time exercise the same employments as when in this life, after which they die again, and go to Mbulu, where they are met by Samuialo. This deity is empowered to seize and hurl into the fiery gulf all those whom he dislikes. On Kantavu they admit of no god appointed to receive departed souls, but suppose that these go down into the sea, where they are examined by the great spirit, who retains those he likes, and sends back the others to their native island to dwell among their friends. Another belief is, that the departed spirit goes before the god Taseta, who, as it approaches, darts a spear at it. If the spirit exhibits any signs of fear, it incurs the displeasure of the god, but if it advances with courage, it is received with favour.

On Vanna-levu it is believed that the souls of their deceased friends go to Dimba-dimba, a point of land which forms Ambau Bay. Here they are supposed to pass down into the sea, where they are taken in two canoes by Rokavona and Rokora, and ferried across into the dominions of Ndengei. When it blows hard, and there are storms of thunder, lightning, and rain, the natives say that the canoes are getting ready.

Some few of the natives worship an evil spirit, whom they call Ruku-batin-dua (the one-toothed Lord). He is represented under the form of man, having wings instead of arms, and as provided with claws to seize his victims. His tooth is described as being large enough to reach above the top of his head; it is alleged he flies through the air emitting sparks of fire. He is said to roast in fire all the wicked who appertain to him. Those who do not worship him call him Kalou-kana, or Kalou-du.

At Rewa, it is believed that the spirits first repair to the residence of Ndengei, who allots some of them to the devils for food, and sends the rest away to Mukalou, a small island off Rewa, where they remain until an appointed day, after which they are all doomed to annihilation. The judgments thus passed by Ndengei, seem to be ascribed rather to his caprice than to any desert of the departed soul.

This idea of a second death is illustrated by the following anecdote, related by Mr. Vanderford. This officer resided, for several months after his shipwreck, with Tanoa, king of Ambau. During this time there was a great feast, at which many chiefs were present, who remained to sleep. Before the close of the evening amusements, one of them had recounted the circumstances of his killing a neighbouring chief. During the night he had occasion to leave the house, and his superstition led him to believe that he saw the ghost of his victim, at which he threw his club, and, as he asserted, killed it. Returning to the house, he aroused the king and all the other inmates, to whom he related what he had done. The occurrence was considered by all as highly important, and formed the subject of due deliberation. In the morning the club was found, when it was taken, with great pomp and parade, to the mbure, where it was deposited as a memorial. All seemed to consider the killing of a spirit as a total annihilation of the person.

Among other forms of this superstition regarding spirits, is that of transmigration. Those who hold it, think that spirits wander about the villages in various shapes, and can make themselves visible or invisible at pleasure; that there are particular places to which they resort, and in passing these they are accustomed to make a propitiatory offering of food or cloth. This form of superstition is the cause of an aversion to go abroad at night, and particularly when it is dark.

It is also a general belief, that the spirit of a celebrated chief may, after death, enter into some young man of the tribe, and animate him to deeds of valour. Persons thus distinguished are pointed out as highly favoured; in consequence, they receive great respect, and their opinions are treated with much consideration, besides which, they have many personal privileges.

In general, the passage from life to death is considered as one from pain to happiness, and I was informed that nine out of ten look forward to it with anxiety, in order to escape from the infirmities of old age, or the sufferings of disease.

The deities whom we have named are served by priests, called *ambati*, who are worshipped in buildings denominated *mbure*, or spirit-houses. Of such buildings, each town has at least one, and often several, which serve also for entertaining strangers, as well as for holding councils and other public meetings. In these *mbures* images are found; but these, although much esteemed as ornaments, and held sacred, are not worshipped as idols. They are only produced on great occasions, such as festivals, &c.

The *ambati*, or priests, have great influence over the people, who consult them on all occasions, but are generally found acting in concert with the chiefs, thus forming a union of power which rules the islands. Each chief has his *ambati*, who attends him wherever he goes. The people are grossly superstitious, and there are few of their occupations in which the *ambati* is not more or less concerned. He is held sacred within his own district, being considered as the representative of the *kalou*, or spirit. The natives seldom separate the idea of the god from that of his priest, who is viewed with almost divine reverence; it is more especially the case at *Somu-somu*, where the natives are more savage, if possible, in their customs, than those of the other islands. If intercourse with white men has produced no other effect, it has lessened their reverence for the priesthood, for wherever they have foreign visitors, there may be seen a marked change in this respect.

The office of *ambati* is usually hereditary, but in some cases may be considered as self-chosen. Thus, when a priest dies without male heirs, some one, who is ambitious to succeed him and desirous of leading an idle life, will strive for the succession. To accomplish this end, he will cunningly assume a mysterious air, speaking incoherently, and pretending that coming events have been foretold him by the *kalou*, whom he claims to have seen and talked with. If he should have made a prediction in relation to a subject in which the people take an anxious interest, and with which the event happens to correspond, the belief that his pretensions are well

founded is adopted. Before he is acknowledged as ambati, he, however, is made to undergo a further trial, and is required to show publicly that the kalou is entering into him. The proof of this is considered to lie in certain shiverings, which appear to be involuntary, and in the performance of which none but an expert juggler could succeed.

I had an opportunity, while at Levuka, of seeing a performance of this description. Whippy gave me notice of it, having ascertained that the offering which precedes the consultation was in preparation. This offering consisted of a hog, a basket of yams, and a quantity of bananas. In this case the ambati had received notice that he was to be consulted, and was attached to the person of Seru (Tanoa's son), for whose purposes the prophetic intervention was needed.

On such occasions the chiefs dress in the morning in their gala habits, and proceed with much ceremony to the mbure, where the priest is. On some occasions, previous notice is given him; at other times he has no warning of their coming, until he receives the offering.

The amount of this offering depends upon the inclination of the party who makes it. The chiefs and people seat themselves promiscuously in a semicircle, the open side of which is occupied by the person who prepares the ava. This mode of sitting is intended as an act of humiliation on the part of the chiefs, which is considered as acceptable to the gods. When all is prepared, the principal chief, if the occasion be a great one, presents a whale's tooth. The priest receives this in his hands, and contemplates it steadily, with downcast eyes, remaining perfectly quiet for some time. In a few minutes distortions begin to be visible in his face, indicating, as they suppose, that the god is entering into his body. His limbs next show a violent muscular action, which increases until his whole frame appears convulsed, and trembles as if under the influence of an ague fit; his eyeballs roll, and are distended; the blood seems rushing with violence to and from his head; tears start from his eyes; his breast heaves; his lips grow livid, and his utterance confused. In short, his whole appearance is that of a maniac. Finally, a profuse perspiration streams from every pore, by which he is relieved, and the symptoms gradually abate; after this, he again sinks into an attitude of quiet, gazing about him from side to side, until, suddenly striking the ground with a club, he thus announces that the god has departed from him. Whatever the priest utters while thus excited, is received as a direct response of the gods to the prayers of those who made the offering. The provisions of which the offering is composed are now shared out, and ava prepared. These are eaten and drunk in silence. The priest partakes of the feast, and always eats voraciously, supplying, as it were, the exhaustion he has previously undergone. It is seldom, however, that his muscles resume at once a quiescent state, and they more usually continue to twitch and tremble for some time afterwards.

When the candidate for the office of ambati has gone successfully through such a ceremony, and the response he gives as from the god

is admitted to be correct, he is considered as qualified to be a priest, and takes possession of the mbure. It is, however, easily to be seen, that it is the chief who in fact makes the appointment. The individual chosen is always on good terms with him, and is but his tool. The purposes of both are accomplished by a good understanding between them. There can be no doubt that those who exercise the office of ambati, and go through the actions just mentioned are consummate jugglers; but they often become so much affected by their own efforts, that the motions of the muscles become in reality involuntary, and they have every appearance of being affected by a supernatural agency.

By the dexterity with which the ambati perform their juggling performances, they acquire great influence over the common people; but, as before remarked, they are merely the instruments of the chiefs. When the latter are about going to battle, or engaging in any other important enterprise, they desire the priest to let the spirit enter him forthwith, making him, at the same time, a present. The priest speedily begins to shake and shiver, and ere long communicates the will of the god, which always tallies with the wishes of the chief. It sometimes happens that the priest fails in exciting himself to convulsive action; but this, among a people so wrapt in superstition, can always be ingeniously accounted for: the most usual mode of excusing the failure, is to say that the kalou is dissatisfied with the offering.

The chiefs themselves admitted, that they have little respect for the power of the priests, and use them merely to govern the people. The ambati are generally the most shrewd and intelligent members of the community, and the reasons for their intimate union with the chiefs are obvious; without the influence of the superstition of which they are the agents, the chief would be unable successfully to rule: while without support from the authority of the chief, the ambati could scarcely practice their mummeries without detection.

The priests, when their services are not wanted by the chiefs, are sometimes driven to straits for food. In such cases they have recourse to the fears of the people, and, among other modes of intimidation, threaten to eat them if their demands are not complied with. To give force to the menace, they pretend to have had communication with the god in dreams, and assemble the people to hear the message of the deity. This message is always portentous of evil; the simple natives are thus induced to make propitiatory offerings, which the priest applies to his own use.

The priest at Levuka pretends to receive oracles from a miniature mbure, an engine of superstition, which he keeps behind a screen in the spirit-house. It is about four feet high; the base is about fifteen inches square; it is hollow within, has an ear on one side of it, and a mouth and nose on the other.

This oracle is covered with scarlet and white seeds about the size of a large pea, which are stuck upon it in fantastic figures, with gum. To the priest this is a labour-saving machine; for on ordinary occasions, instead of going through the performance

we have described, he merely whispers in the ear of the model, and pretends to receive an answer by applying his own ear to its mouth.

The occasions on which the priests are required to shake, are usually of the following kinds: to implore good crops of yams and taro; on going to battle; for propitious voyages; for rain; for storms, to drive boats and ships ashore, in order that the natives may seize the property they are freighted with; and for the destruction of their enemies.

When the prayers offered are for a deliverance from famine, the priest directs the people to return to their houses, in the name of Ndengei, who then at his instance is expected to turn himself over, in which case an earthquake ensues, which is to be followed by a season of fertility.

When it is determined to offer a sacrifice, the people are assembled and addressed by a chief. A time is then fixed for the ceremony, until which a taboo is laid upon pigs, turtles, &c. On the appointed day, each man brings his quota of provisions, and a whale's tooth if he have one. The chief, accompanied by the others, approaches the mbure, and, while he offers up his prayers, the people present their gifts. The latter then return to their houses, and the offering is distributed by the priest.

When a chief wishes to supplicate a god for the recovery of a sick friend, the return of a canoe, or any other desired object, he takes a root of ava and a whale's tooth to the mbure, and offers them to the priest. The latter takes the whale's tooth in his hands, and then goes through the operation of shaking, &c., as has already been described.

Besides the occasional consultation of the gods through the ambati, there are stated religious festivals. One of these, which is said to be only practised in districts subject to Tui Levuka, takes place in the month of November, and lasts four days. At its commencement an influential matanivanua (landholder) proceeds just at sunset to the outside of the koro, or town, where, in a loud voice, he invokes the spirit of the sky, praying for good crops and other blessings. This is followed by a general beating of sticks and drums, and blowing of conchs, which lasts for half an hour. During the four days, the men live in the mbure, when they feast upon the balolo,\* a curious species of salt-water worm, which makes its appearance at this season, for one day, while the women and boys remain shut up in the houses. No labour is permitted, no work carried on; and so strictly is this rule observed, that not even a leaf is plucked, and the offal is not removed from the houses. At daylight on the expiration of the fourth night, the whole town is in an uproar, and men and boys scamper about, knocking with clubs and sticks at the doors of the houses, crying out, "Sinariba." This concludes the ceremony, and the usual routine of affairs goes on thenceforth as usual.

\* The balolo is obtained at Wakai, and is eaten both cooked and raw, as suits the fancy, and from it November receives its name.



At Ambau a grand festival takes place at the in-gathering of the fruits. This is called Batami mbulu (the spirit below or in the earth). On this occasion a great feast is held, and the king, chiefs, and people walk in procession, with great pomp and ceremony, to Viwa, where they pay homage to the spirit. I was unable to obtain further details of this festival, but its object was explained to be a return of thanks for the fruits of the earth.

The marriages of the Feejeeans are sanctioned by religious ceremonies, and, among the high chiefs, are attended with much form and parade. As at all other ceremonies, *ava* drinking forms an essential part. The *ambati*, or priest, takes a seat, having the bridegroom on his right and the bride on the left hand. He then invokes the protection of the god or spirit upon the bride, after which he leads her to the bridegroom, and joins their hands, with injunctions to love, honour, and obey, to be faithful, and die with each other.

During this ceremony, the girls are engaged in chewing the *ava*, on which the priest directs the water to be poured, and cries out, "*Ai sevu*." He then calls upon all the gods of the town or island. He takes care to make no omission, lest the neglected deity should inflict injury on the couple he has united. He concludes the ceremony by calling out "*mana*" (it is finished); to which the people respond "*ndina*" (it is true).

For the marriage of a woman, the consent of her father, mother, and brother is required, and must be asked by the intended husband. Even if the father and mother assent, the refusal of the brother will prevent the marriage; but, with his concurrence, it may take place, even if both father and mother oppose. In asking a woman in marriage, rolls of *tapa*, whales' teeth, provisions, &c., are sometimes presented to the parents. The acceptance of these signifies that the suit is favourably received; their rejection is a refusal of the suit.

If the proposals of the young man are received, he gives notice of it to his own relations, who take presents to his betrothed. Her own relations, by way of dowry, give her a stone chopper (*mata-wiwi*) and two *tapa*-sticks (*eki*), after which the marriage may take place.

Among the common people the marriage rites are less ceremonious than those of the chiefs. The priest of the tribe comes to the house, when he is presented with a whale's tooth and a bowl of *ava*, and making a *sevu-sevu* (prayer), invokes happiness upon the union. The bride's near relations then present her with a large petticoat (*licolib*), and the more distant relatives make gifts of *tapas*, *mata*, and provisions.

Every man may have as many wives as he can maintain, and the chiefs have many betrothed to them at an early age, for the purpose of extending their political connections by bonds which, according to their customs, cannot be overlooked.

The daughters of chiefs are usually betrothed early in life. If the bridegroom refuses to carry the contract into effect, it is considered as a great insult, and he may lay his account to have a contest with

her relations and friends. If the betrothed husband die before the girl grows up, his next brother succeeds to his rights in this respect. Many of the marriages in high life are the result of mutual attachment, and are preceded by a courtship, presents, &c. The parties may be frequently seen, as among us, walking arm-in-arm after they are engaged. Forced marriages sometimes occur, although they are by no means frequent in this class; in such instances suicide is occasionally the consequence. A case of this sort had occurred previous to our arrival, when a daughter of the chief of Ovolau killed herself by jumping off a precipice behind the town, because she had been forced to marry a brother of Tanoa. The females of the lower classes have no such delicate scruples. Among them, marriages are mere matters of bargain, and wives are purchased and looked upon as property in most parts of the group. The usual price is a whale's tooth, or a musket; and this once paid, the husband has an entire right to the person of the wife, whom he may even kill and eat if he feel so disposed. Young women, until purchased, belong to the chief of the village, who may dispose of them as he thinks best. Elopements, however, sometimes take place, when a marriage is opposed from difference of rank or other cause, when the parties flee to some neighbouring chief, whom they engage to intercede and bring about a reconciliation.

Wives are faithful to their husbands rather from fear than from affection. If detected in infidelity, the woman is not unfrequently knocked on the head, or made a slave for life. The man may also be treated in the same manner; but this punishment may also consist in what is called *suabi*. This is a forfeiture of his lands, which is signified by sticking reeds into the ground. These are bound together by knots, so as to form tripods. If the offender wishes to regain his lands, he must purchase the good-will of the offended party by presents. In some cases, the friends of the injured party seize the wife of the offender, and give her to the aggrieved husband. There are also other modes in which a husband revenges himself for the infidelity of his wife, which do not admit of description.

We have seen that the extent to which polygamy is carried is limited only by the will of the man and his means of maintaining his wives. The latter are almost completely slaves, and usually, by the strict discipline of the husband, live peaceably together. The household is under the charge of the principal wife, and the others are required to yield to her control. If they misbehave, they are tied up, put in irons, or flogged.

The birth of the first child is celebrated by a feast on the natal day; another feast takes place four days afterwards, and another in ten days, when suitable presents are made to the young couple.

Parturition is not usually severe, and some women have been known to go to work within an hour after delivery. Others, however, remain under the nurse's care for months. It is the prevailing opinion that hard work makes the delivery more easy. After childbirth the women usually remain quiet, and live upon a diet composed of young taro-tops for from four to eight days, after which they bathe constantly.

Midwifery is a distinct profession, exercised by women in all the towns, and they are said to be very skilful, performing operations which are among us considered as surgical. Abortion is prevalent, and nearly half of those conceived are supposed to be destroyed in this manner, usually by the command of the father, at whose instance the wife takes herbs which are known to produce this effect. If this do not succeed, the accoucheur is employed to strangle the child, and bring it forth dead.

A child is rubbed with turmeric as soon as it is born, which they consider strengthening. It is named immediately, by some relative or friend. If, through neglect or accident, a name should not be forthwith given, the child would be considered as an outcast, and be destroyed by the mother.

Girls reach the age of puberty when about fourteen years old, and boys when from seventeen to eighteen. This period in a girl's life is duly celebrated by her; for which purpose she requests the loan of a house from a friend, and takes possession of it, in company with a number of young girls. The townspeople supply them with provisions for ten days, during which they anoint themselves with turmeric and oil. At the expiration of this time, they all go out to fish, and are furnished by the men with provisions.

The only general fact to be derived from the various opinions in relation to the spirits of the dead, which have been stated in the way we received them, is, that a belief in a future state is universally entertained by the Feejeeans. In some parts of the group, this has taken the following form, which, if not derived from intercourse with the whites, is at least more consistent with revealed truth than any of those previously recorded. Those who hold this opinion, say that all the souls of the departed will remain in their appointed place, until the world is destroyed by fire and a new one created; that in the latter all things will be renovated, and to it they will again be sent to dwell thereon.

This belief in a future state, guided by no just notions of religious or moral obligation, is the source of many abhorrent practices. Among these are the custom of putting their parents to death when they are advanced in years; suicide; the immolation of wives at the funeral of their husbands, and human sacrifices.

It is among the most usual occurrences, that a father or a mother will notify their children that it is time for them to die, or that a son shall give notice to his parents that they are becoming a burden to him. In either case, the relatives and friends are collected, and informed of the fact. A consultation is then held, which generally results in the conclusion, that the request is to be complied with, in which case they fix upon a day for the purpose, unless it should be done by the party whose fate is under deliberation. The day is usually chosen at a time when yams or taro are ripe, in order to furnish materials for a great feast, called mburua. The aged person is then asked, whether he will prefer to be strangled before his burial, or buried alive. When the appointed day arrives, the relatives and friends bring tapas, mats, and oil, as presents. They are received as at other funeral feasts, and all mourn together until

the time for the ceremony arrives. The aged person then proceeds to point out the place where the grave is to be dug ; and while some are digging it, the others put on a new maro and turbans. When the grave is dug, which is about four feet deep, the person is assisted into it, while the relatives and friends begin their lamentations, and proceed to weep and cut themselves as they do at other funerals. All then proceed to take a parting kiss, after which the living body is covered up, first with mats and tapa wrapped around the head, and then with sticks and earth, which are trodden down. When this has been done, all retire, and are tabooed, as will be stated in describing their ordinary funerals. The succeeding night the son goes privately to the grave, and lays upon it a piece of ava-root, which is called the *vei-tala*, or farewell.

Mr. Hunt, one of the missionaries, had been a witness of several of these acts. On one occasion, he was called upon by a young man, who desired that he would pray to his spirit for his mother, who was dead. Mr. Hunt was at first in hopes that this would afford him an opportunity of forwarding their great cause. On inquiry, the young man told him that his brothers and himself were just going to bury her. Mr. Hunt accompanied the young man, telling him he would follow in the procession, and do as he desired him, supposing, of course, the corpse would be brought along ; but he now met the procession, when the young man said that this was the funeral, and pointed out his mother, who was walking along with them, as gay and lively as any of those present, and apparently as much pleased. Mr. Hunt expressed his surprise to the young man, and asked how he could deceive him so much by saying his mother was dead, when she was alive and well. He said, in reply, that they had made her death-feast, and were now going to bury her ; that she was old ; that his brother and himself had thought she had lived long enough, and it was time to bury her, to which she had willingly assented, and they were about it now. He had come to Mr. Hunt to ask his prayers, as they did those of the priest. He added, that it was from love for his mother that he had done so : that, in consequence of the same love, they were now going to bury her, and that none but themselves could or ought to do so sacred an office ! The missionary did all in his power to prevent so diabolical an act ; but the only reply he received was, that she was their mother, and they were her children, and they ought to put her to death. On reaching the grave, the mother sat down, when they all, including children, grandchildren, relations, and friends, took an affectionate leave of her ; a rope, made of twisted tapa, was then passed twice round her neck by her sons, who took hold of it, and strangled her ; after which she was put into her grave, with the usual ceremonies. They returned to feast and mourn, after which she was entirely forgotten, as though she had not existed.

Mr. Hunt surprised me by expressing his opinion that the Feejeeans were a kind and affectionate people to their parents, adding, that he was assured by many of them that they considered this custom as so great a proof of affection that none but children could be found to perform it. The same opinion was expressed by all the other white residents.

A short time before our arrival, an old man at Levuka did something to vex one of his grandchildren, who in consequence threw stones at him. The only action the old man took in the case was to walk away, saying that he had now lived long enough, when his grandchildren could stone him with impunity. He then requested his children and friends to bury him, to which they consented. A feast was made; he was dressed in his best tapa, and his face blackened. He was then placed sitting in his grave, with his head about two feet below the surface. Tapa and mats were thrown upon him, and the earth pressed down; during which he was heard to complain that they hurt him, and to beg that they would not press so hard.

Self-immolation is by no means rare, and they believe that as they leave this life, so will they remain ever after. This forms a powerful motive to escape from decrepitude, or from a crippled condition, by a voluntary death.

Wives are often strangled, or buried alive, at the funeral of their husbands, and generally at their own instance. Cases of this sort have frequently been witnessed by the white residents. On one occasion Whippy drove away the murderers, rescued the woman, and carried her to his own house, where she was resuscitated. So far, however, from feeling grateful for her preservation, she loaded him with abuse, and ever afterwards manifested the most deadly hatred towards him. That women should desire to accompany their husbands in death is by no means strange, when it is considered that it is one of the articles of their belief, that in this way alone can they reach the realms of bliss, and she who meets her death with the greatest devotedness will become the favorite wife in the abode of spirits.

The sacrifice is not, however, always voluntary; but when a woman refuses to be strangled, her relations often compel her to submit. This they do from interested motives; for, by her death, her connexions become entitled to the property of her husband. Even a delay is made a matter of reproach. Thus, at the funeral of the late king, Ulivou, his five wives and a daughter were strangled. The principal wife delayed the ceremony, by taking leave of those around her; whereupon Tanoa, the present king, chid her. The victim was his own aunt, and he assisted in putting the rope around her neck, and strangling her, a service he is said to have rendered on a former occasion to his own mother.

Not only do many of the natives desire their friends to put them to death to escape decrepitude, or immolate themselves with a similar view, but families have such a repugnance to having deformed or maimed persons among them, that those who have met with such misfortunes are almost always destroyed. An instance of this sort was related to me, when a boy whose leg had been bitten off by a shark was strangled, although he had been taken care of by one of the white residents, and there was every prospect of his recovery. No other reason was assigned by the perpetrators of the deed, than that if he had lived he would have been a disgrace to his family, in consequence of his having only one leg.

When a native, whether man, woman, or child, is sick of a lingering disease, their relatives will either wring their heads off, or strangle them. Mr. Hunt stated that this was a frequent custom, and cited a case where he had with difficulty saved a servant of his own from such a fate, who afterwards recovered his health.

Formal human sacrifices are frequent. The victims are usually taken from a distant tribe, and when not supplied by war or violence, they are at times obtained by negotiation. After being selected for this purpose, they are often kept for a time to be fattened. When about to be sacrificed, they are compelled to sit upon the ground, with their feet drawn under their thighs, and their arms placed close before them. In this posture they are bound so tightly that they cannot stir or move a joint. They are then placed in the usual oven, upon hot stones, and covered with leaves and earth, where they are roasted alive. When the body is cooked, it is taken from the oven and the face painted black, as is done by the natives on festal occasions. It is then carried to the mbure, where it is offered to the gods, and is afterwards removed to be cut up and distributed, to be eaten by the people.

Women are not allowed to enter the mbure, or to eat human flesh.

The women are kept in great subjection. They have few privileges; their principal duties are to keep the house clean, take care of the children, weed the taro and yam beds, and carry burdens.

Human sacrifices are a preliminary to almost all their undertakings. When a new mbure is built, a party goes out and seizes the first person they meet, whom they sacrifice to the gods; when a large canoe is launched, the first person, man or woman, whom they encounter, is laid hold of and carried home for a feast.

When Tanoa launches a canoe, ten or more men are slaughtered on the deck, in order that it may be washed with human blood.

Human sacrifices are also among the rites performed at the funerals of chiefs, when slaves are in some instances put to death. Their bodies are first placed in the grave, and upon them those of the chief and his wives are laid.

The ceremonies attendant on the death and burial of a great chief are remarkable. When his last moments are approaching, his friends place in his hands two whale's teeth, which it is supposed he will need to throw at a tree that stands on the road to the regions of the dead. As soon as the last struggle is over, the friends and attendants fill the air with their lamentations. Two priests then take in each of their hands a reed about eighteen inches long, on which the leaves at the end are left, and with these they indicate two persons for grave-diggers, and mark out the place for the grave. The spot usually selected is as near as possible to the banks of a stream. The grave-diggers are provided with mangrove-staves (*tiri*) for their work, and take their positions, one at the head, the other at the foot of the grave, having each one of the priests on his right hand. At a given signal, the labourers, making three feints before they strike, stick their staves into the ground, while the priests twice exchange reeds, repeating Feejee, Tonga; Feejee, Tonga. The diggers work in a sitting posture, and thus dig a pit sufficiently large to contain

the body. The first earth which is removed is considered as sacred, and laid aside.

The persons who have dug the grave also wash and prepare the body for interment, and they are the only persons who can touch the corpse without being laid under a taboo for ten months. The body after being washed is laid on a couch of cloth and mats, and carefully wiped. It is then dressed and decorated as the deceased was in life, when preparing for a great assembly of chiefs; it is first anointed with oil, and then the neck, breast, and arms, down to the elbows, are daubed with a black pigment, a white bandage of native cloth is bound around the head, and tied over the temple in a graceful knot; a club is placed in the hand, and laid across the breast, to indicate in the next world that the deceased was a chief and warrior. The body is then laid on a bier, and the chiefs of the subject tribes assemble; each tribe presents a whale's tooth, and the chief or spokesman says, "This is our offering to the dead; we are poor and cannot find riches." All now clap their hands, and the king or a chief of rank replies, "Ai mumundi ni mate," (the end of death;) to which all the people present respond, "E dina," (it is true.) The female friends then approach and kiss the corpse, and if any of his wives wish to die and be buried with him, she runs to her brother or nearest relative and exclaims, "I wish to die, that I may accompany my husband to the land where his spirit has gone; love me, and make haste to strangle me, that I may overtake him!" Her friends applaud her purpose, and being dressed and decorated in her best clothes, she seats herself on a mat, reclining her head on the lap of a woman; another holds her nostrils, that she may not breathe through them; a cord made by twisting fine tapa, (masi,) is then put around her neck, and drawn tight by four or five strong men, so that the struggle is soon over. The cord is left tight, and tied in a bow-knot, until the friends of the husband present a whale's tooth, saying, "This is the untying of the cord of strangling." The cord is then loosed but is not removed from the neck of the corpse.

When the grave is finished, the principal workman takes the four reeds used by the priests, and passes them backwards and forwards across each other; he then lines the pit or grave with fine mats, and lays two of the leaves at the head and two at the foot of the grave; on these the corpse of the chief is placed, with two of his wives, one on each side, having their right and left hands, respectively, laid on his breast; the bodies are then wrapped together in folds of native cloth; the grave is then filled in, and the sacred earth is laid on, and a stone over it. All the men who have had anything to do with the dead body take off their maro or masi, and rub themselves all over with the leaves of a plant they call *koaikoaia*. A friend of the parties takes new tapa, and clothes them, for they are not allowed to touch anything, being tabooed persons. At the end of ten days, the head chief of the tribe provides a great feast, (mburua,) at which time the tabooed men again scrub themselves, and are newly dressed. After the feast, *ava* is prepared and set before the priest, who goes through many incantations, shiverings, ar

shakings, and prays for long life and abundance of children. The soul of the deceased is now enabled to quit the body, and go to its destination. During these ten days, all the women in the town provide themselves with long whips, knotted with shells; these they use upon the men, inflicting bloody wounds, which the men retort by flirting from a piece of split bamboo little hard balls of clay.

When the tabooed person becomes tired of remaining so restricted, they send to the head chief, and inform him, and he replies that he will remove the taboo whenever they please; they then send him presents of pigs and other provisions, which he shares among the people. The tabooed persons then go into a stream and wash themselves, which act they call *vuluvulu*; they then catch some animal, a pig or turtle, on which they wipe their hands; it then becomes sacred to the chief. The taboo is now removed, and the men are free to work, feed themselves, and live with their wives. The taboo usually lasts from two to ten months in the case of chiefs, according to their rank; in the case of a petty chief, the taboo would not exceed a month, and for a common person, not more than four days. It is generally resorted to by the lazy and idle; for during this time they are not only provided with food, but are actually fed by attendants, or eat their food from the ground. On the death of a chief, a taboo is laid upon the cocoa-nuts, pigs, &c., of a whole district.

Taking off a taboo is attended with certain ceremonies. It can be done by none but a chief of high rank. Presents are brought to the priest, and a piece of *ava*, which is brewed and drunk; he then makes a prayer, (*sevu-sevu*), and the ceremony is finished.

In laying a taboo, a stone about two feet in length is set up before the *mbure*, and painted red; *ava* is chewed; after which the priest makes a prayer, and invokes maledictions on the heads of those who shall break it. Trees that are tabooed have bands of cocoa-nut or pandanus-leaves tied around them, and a stick is set in a heap of earth near by. We had an instance of this at the time of our arrival, when we found all the cocoa-nuts tabooed. We in consequence could obtain none, until I spoke to the chiefs of Ambau, who removed the taboo.

To the funeral ceremonies we have described, others are added, in some parts of the group, and there are differences in some of the details of the rites. Thus, at Muthuata, the body of a chief is usually taken to the royal *mbure*, on the island of that name, to be interred. The corpse, instead of being dressed in the habiliments of life, is wrapped in white mats, and borne on a wide plank. On its arrival at the *mbure*, it is received by the priest, who pronounces an eulogium on his character, after which the young men form themselves into two ranks, between which, and around the corpse, the rest of the people pass several times.

All the boys who have arrived at a suitable age are now circumcised, and many boys suffer the loss of their little fingers. The foreskins and fingers are placed in the grave of the chief. When this part of the ceremony is over, young bread-fruit trees are presented by the relatives of the chief to the boys, whose connections



are bound to cultivate them until the boys are able to do it themselves.

The strangulation of the chief's wives follows; and this is succeeded by a further eulogium of the deceased, and a lament for the loss his people have sustained. The whole is concluded by a great feast of hogs, taro, yams, and bananas.

The funerals of persons of lower rank are of course far less ceremonious. The body is wrapped in tapa or mats, and sometimes sprinkled with turmeric, and is buried in a sitting posture, just below the surface of the ground. Even in this class the wife generally insists on being strangled. Instances are now, however, beginning to occur, in which this custom is not persisted in, a circumstance which seems to show that the dawn of civilisation is breaking upon them.

On the day of the death, a feast called mburus is always provided; another four days after, called boniva; and a third at the end of ten days, which is called boniviti.

The usual outward sign of mourning is to crop the hair or beard, or very rarely both. Indeed, they are too vain of these appendages to part with them on trifling occasions; and as the hair, if cut off, takes a long time to grow again, they use a wig as a substitute. Some of these wigs are beautifully made, and even more exact imitations of nature than those of our best perruquiers.

Another mark of sorrow is to cut off the joints of the small toe and little finger; and this is not done only as a mark of grief or a token of affection, but the dismembered joints are frequently sent to families which are considered wealthy, and who are able to reward this token of sympathy in their loss, which they never fail to do.

Women in mourning burn their skin into blisters, as is the practice also in other groups visited by us. The instrument used for the purpose is a piece of tapa twisted into a small roll and ignited. Marks thus produced may be seen on their arms, shoulders, neck, and breast. This custom is called loloe mate.

The eating of human flesh is not confined to cases of sacrifice for religious purposes, but is practised from habit and taste. The existence of cannibalism, independent of superstitious notions, has been doubted by many. There can be no question that, although it may have originated as a sacred rite, it is continued in the Feejee Group for the mere pleasure of eating human flesh as a food. Their fondness for it will be understood from the custom they have of sending portions of it to their friends at a distance, as an acceptable present, and the gift is eaten, even if decomposition have begun before it is received. So highly do they esteem this food, that the greatest praise they can bestow on a delicacy is to say that it is as tender as a dead man.

Even their sacrifices are made more frequent, not merely to gratify feelings of revenge, but to indulge their taste for this horrid food. In respect to this propensity, they affect no disguise; I have myself frequently spoken with them concerning it, and received but one answer, both from chiefs and common people, that it was vinaka (good).

The bodies of enemies slain in battle are always eaten. Whippy told me that he saw, on one occasion, upwards of twenty men cooked; and several of the white residents stated that they have seen bodies brought from such a distance as to be green from putrescence, and to have the flesh dropping from the bones, which were, notwithstanding, eaten with greediness and apparent pleasure.

War, however, does not furnish enough of this food to satisfy their appetite for it. Stratagem and violence are resorted to for obtaining it. While we were at Levuka, as a number of women belonging to the village were engaged in picking up shells and fishing, a canoe belonging to the Lasikaus, or fishermen, in passing by the reef, seized and carried off two of them, as it was believed, for cannibal purposes. When I heard the story I could not at first believe it; but it was confirmed by Tui Levuka, who said that the Lasikaus frequently stole women from the reefs for the purpose of eating them.

All doubt, however, was removed, when Mr. Eld, while stationed at the observatory, became an eye-witness of an attempt of the kind. The daughter of the Vi Tonga\* chief, with some of her companions, was engaged in fishing on the reef in a small canoe. By some accident the canoe was swamped, which rendered them a prize to whoever should capture them. A canoe from Ambau had watched the poor creatures like a hawk, and, as soon as the accident happened, pounced upon them. The men in the canoe succeeded in capturing the chief's daughter, and forced her into the vessel. When near the shore, however, she contrived to make her escape by jumping overboard, and reached the shore before they could overtake her. Clubs and spears were thrown at her, with no other effect than a slight scratch under the arm, and a bruise on her shoulder. On the beach she was received by her friends, who stood ready to protect her, upon which the Ambau people gave up the pursuit.

The cannibal propensity is not limited to enemies or persons of a different tribe, but they will banquet on the flesh of their dearest friends; and it is even related, that in times of scarcity, families will make an exchange of children for this horrid purpose.

The flesh of women is preferred to that of men, and they consider the flesh of the arm above the elbow, and of the thigh, as the choicest parts. The women are not allowed to eat it openly, but it is said that the wives of chiefs do partake of it in private. It is also forbidden to the kai-si, or common people, unless there be a great quantity, but they have an opportunity of picking the bones.

As a further instance of these cannibal propensities, and to show that the sacrifice of human life to gratify their passions and appetites is of almost daily occurrence, a feast frequently takes place among the chiefs, to which each is required to bring a pig. On these occasions Tanoa, from pride and ostentation, always furnishes a human body.

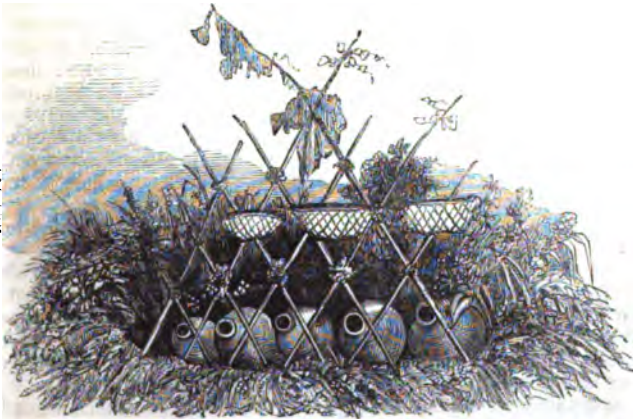
A whale's tooth is about the price of a human life, even when the

\* Vi Tonga is a town immediately below the point on which the observatory was placed.

party slain is of rank, as will be shown by the following anecdotes. Rivaletta, the youngest son of Tanoa, while passing along the north end of Ovolau in his canoe, descried a fishing party. He at once determined to possess himself of what they had taken, and for this purpose dashed in among them, and fired his musket. The shot killed a young man, who proved to be a nephew of Tui Levuka, the chief of Ovolau, and was recognized by some of Rivaletta's followers. This discovery did not prevent their carrying the body to Ambau to be feasted upon ; but in order to prevent it from being known there, the face was disfigured by broiling it in the fire in the canoe. Tanoa, however, soon became aware of the fact, and forthwith sent a whale's tooth to Tui Levuka, as the value of his loss, together with a number of little fingers, cut from the people of Ambau, as a propitiatory offering. The remuneration was received by Tui Levuka as sufficient, and no more notice was taken of the matter.

Before we left the group, an inferior chief ran away with one of the wives of Tui Levuka. The latter immediately dispatched his son to the town where the chief resided, for the purpose of killing the offender, which was effected, and the woman brought back. Tui Levuka thereupon sent a whale's tooth and some tapa to the principal chief of the town, and the affair was ended.

When they set so little value on the lives of their own countrymen, it is not to be expected that they should much regard those of foreigners. It is necessary, therefore, while holding intercourse with them, to be continually guarded against their murderous designs, which they are always meditating for the sake of the property about the person, or to obtain the body for food. Several recent instances are related, where crews of vessels visiting these islands have been put to death.



CANNIBAL COOKING POTS.

## CHAPTER IV.

## CUSTOMS OF THE FEEJEE GROUP—(CONTINUED).

Climate—Soil—Population—Language—Salutations—Diseases—Amusements—Messages  
—Employments—Politeness—Distribution of Time—Toilets—Dress—Tattooing—  
Houses—Canoes—Productions—Divisions of Time—Ceremony—Arms.

THE climate resembles that of other Polynesian Islands in being wet or dry, according to the windward or leeward side of the islands. The difference in temperature is small, scarcely exceeding two degrees. The vegetation marks the difference more strongly: while the leeward is barren, from being subject to long droughts, the windward side exhibits all the luxuriance of a tropical vegetation.

The natives, to mark the seasons, have recourse to the flowering of plants, and the blossoming of the *Erythrina indica* marks the season for planting. The mean temperature at Ovalau during our stay was 77.81° Fahr. The barometer stood at 30.126 in. The lowest temperature was 62°; the highest 96°. This was from April to August.

The winds prevail from the east-north-east to south-east quarter, from April to November. From November to April northerly winds are often experienced; and during the months of February and March heavy gales are frequent. At this season of the year earthquakes also occur, and several shocks have been felt on the same night. Although several islands in the group show the remains of craters, yet the only signs of volcanic action we met with were at Savu-savu. Volcanic conglomerate, tufa, compact and scoriaceous basalts are the predominant rocks: they are of every texture and colour, and in all stages of decomposition. These afford a rich soil, in which the tropical vegetation flourishes to such a degree as scarcely to be surpassed in any part of the world.

The population of the whole group is about 130,000 inhabitants: these almost entirely dwell on the sea-shore, where their food is obtained.

The language of the Feejers is a branch from the great root whence all the Polynesian languages are derived. The missionaries have been very assiduous in reducing it to a written shape. They have adopted the Roman characters, but to meet the sounds peculiar to this language, they have been obliged to make some changes. Originality and boldness appear to be the characteristics of the Feejeean tongue. It has been found to be extremely copious: it furnishes distinctive names for every shrub, and every kind of grass the islands yield: the names for the various kinds of yam amount

to more than fifty: each species of taro and banana has its distinctive appellation; and there are words for every variety of cocoa-nut, as well as for every stage of its ripening, from the bud to the mature fruit.

Words may be found to express every disease, as well as every creation of the mind; and the most delicate shades of meaning may be expressed. The language affords various forms of salutation, according to the rank of the parties; and great attention is paid to insure that the salutation shall have the proper form. Women make their salutations according to the appropriate formula, which differs from that of the men. The wives of the landholders say, "a-a-vakau du-wa-a;" women of the lower orders say, "ndnoo;" and fishermen's wives say, "wa-wa," stooping, with their hands behind their heads.

Equals salute each other. When a chief is met, all retire out of his path, crouch, and lower their clubs. A chief would be thought ill-mannered if he did not return the salutation of a common man.

The climate is considered a healthy one, although various diseases are prevalent at times. The dysentery, rheumatism, influenza, and ulcers, are very common. There is a disease peculiar to the islands: it is called the *dthoks*: it somewhat resembles the "yaws," so common among the negroes of the West Indies. This disease varies in duration from nine months to three years. This people are passionately fond of being bled, an instance of which was related to me—that David Whippy had on a single day bled 150 natives, who had visited him for that purpose, from Ambau. They are expert themselves in surgical operations in their rude way.

They have many amusements for both sexes. Among the girls are those of legerdemain, hide-and-seek, forfeits, and dancing; which last is regularly taught to both sexes by teachers.

The boys have a game of sticks, which is allied to throwing the spear. The men of different towns play this game, which, from the rivalry and contention that ensues, often leads to open hostility.

The Feejee mode of sending messages is by the delivery of sticks or reeds, with which the messenger is charged. These serve to fix the memory; and as each reed is presented, the message which it represents is delivered. Reeds are also used to close an agreement.

Although the Feejeeans are decidedly a savage people, yet they evince a great degree of politeness and good breeding, which cannot but surprise all who witness it. On the occasion of their feasts this is more evident than on other occasions. Each person is seated according to his rank, and their posture is easy and graceful, though to one unaccustomed to it, would be irksome in the extreme.

Their feasts are always given in the mbure, and the priest usually officiates as master of ceremonies, making an address of welcome, and taking good care that he has his full share of the good things.

The mode in which the Feejeeans regulate the distribution of their time, is in conformity to the nature of their climate. They usually rise very early, and, before going to work, wash and take

"*ava*." They generally work till 10 or 11 o'clock in the day, when they return to their houses, bathe, and anoint themselves with cocoa-nut oil. When this is done, they take a light meal, which they call "*vase*." During the afternoon they sleep and lounge about, and undergo the labour of the toilet, which latter occupies a large portion of their time. When this is over, they resort to the mbure, pay visits, &c. &c. In the evening they take their principal meal, over which they always spend much time.

Among all classes, in their toilet, the hair claims the first attention. The barbers are important personages in the suite of the chiefs, and the size to which they contrive to extend the heads of hair is almost incredible. In one case we measured the circumference of the hair, and found it to be 62 inches. The more the hair is distended the greater is their pride and the admiration in which they are held by their countrymen.

The women exhibit droll fancies in the cropping of their children's hair, leaving one long lock, which is always frizzled and stands out from some part of the head, giving an uncouth appearance to the child. The hair of the men is cut in various shapes. In general the prevailing fashion is to have it cut round: nine out of ten individuals have some part of the hair coloured either brown or red. These mops are greatly infested with vermin; so much so as to make a visit to one of their villages absolutely disgusting, where one cannot avoid seeing the practices to which they resort to get rid of them. The women are also careful to adorn themselves. The young girls allow their hair to grow in long locks; these are decorated with flowers, and after being thus bedecked they are ready to see company.

After marriage the locks are all clipped off, and the hair is kept short, or frizzled like a wig. They use lime to cleanse it, and also a preparation of lye, made from the ashes of the leaves of the bread-fruit tree, which is made thick, and viscid: into this they dip their heads, and afterwards suffer it to course down their cheeks, which is all considered ornamental. Those who fail in the necessary quantity of hair have recourse to wigs, which are so well made as to baffle detection.

The face undergoes daily its ornamental painting of black soot and oil; and if this can be relieved by a patch of vermilion on the nose, or a few spots here and there on either side, they are the admiration of all. The turban and the maro are the distinguishing marks of the chiefs—the former of large size, and, the latter in length according to rank.

High chiefs wear around the neck a single shell of the *Cypræa aurora*, or a valve of a large red spondylus. Some have a collar of whale's teeth, fashioned like claws; others, strings of human teeth, &c. &c.

Armlets are also worn; the shell of the trochus is ground into a ring for this purpose.

The mode of wearing the hair-picker or comb, is an indication of rank. None but the king wears it in front; those next in rank a little on one side; while the lower orders wear it behind the ear.

The women are not allowed to wear tapa,\* and their dress is slight and scanty; it consists of only the liku. Before marriage the liku is worn short, but afterwards long.



LIKU.

The women are only tattooed, and it is chiefly confined to those parts that are covered by the liku. Unless tattooed they cannot receive a passport to the other world. So strong is this superstition, that when girls have died before being tattooed, their friends have painted the semblance of it upon them, in order to assuage the anger of the gods.

Both sexes have the lobes of their ears bored; the women only one, the men both; in order to distend them they insert rolls of tapa, pieces of wood, shells, &c.; these are made in some cases so large that the hand may be passed through.

Though almost naked, these natives have a great idea of modesty. They consider it extremely indelicate to expose the whole person. If either a man or a woman should be seen without the maro or liku, they would probably be clubbed.

There are many employments among the Feejeeans that command great consideration and respect; among these are carpentry and canoe-building. The houses differ from those of other groups, although they are constructed of similar materials. The frames and sills are made of cocoa-nut and tree-fern; they have two doorways, on opposite sides, from three to four feet high, and as many broad.

The sides are closed with small cane in square wicker-work. Mats are hung before the doors. The mbures are built after the same manner, but the roofs are more peaked; they are generally fifteen to twenty feet square and thirty feet high. The common houses are oblong, from twenty to thirty feet in length, and fifteen feet high. If a person wishes to build a house he carries a present to the chief of a whale's tooth, and tells him his wish, the size, &c. The king or chief orders the men and appoints one as superintendent, and from one to five hundred men are employed. The house is finished in ten or fifteen days, and will last about five years without repairs to its thatching; they are considered as tenantable for twenty years. All the houses have fire-places; these are nothing more than ash-pits, with a few large stones to build the fire, and

\* This prohibition arises from jealousy among their own sex, who punish severely any one who infringes upon their customs. An old woman was pointed out to us at Levuka, who had been almost beaten to death and had her nose bitten off, and was thus left a monument of her own vanity, as well as the ferocity of the fair sex of Feejee.

to place the pots upon; the pots are a kind of jar; they contain from five to ten gallons, with a mouth sufficiently large to admit a yam.

The houses are not generally divided by partitions, but at each end they have a raised platform, on which the mats are laid for sleeping.

The Feejee canoes are superior to those of the other groups. They are generally built double, and some are one hundred feet in length. The two parts of the double canoe are of different sizes, and united by beams on which a platform is laid. The platform is fifteen feet wide, and extends beyond the sides.

The smaller canoe serves the purpose of an outrigger. The bottom of the canoe is a single plank; the sides are fitted to them by dove-tailing, and closely united by lashings, while the joints are made tight by gum. They have generally a depth of hold of seven feet.

The productions of this group are tropical. The bread-fruit tree flourishes in great perfection. They have nine different kinds; the variety they call umbudu is the largest, sweetest, and most agreeable to the taste; the botta-bot and bucudo are also highly esteemed. The varieties of this fruit follow each other in season throughout the year; March and April are the months in which it is in greatest perfection. They have many ways of preserving this fruit; it is generally buried in pits, and undergoes fermentation. When these are opened, the smell is most nauseating, and the contents formed in a mass of a greenish-yellow colour, of the consistency of new cheese.

They have several kinds of the banana and plantain, but these the natives spoil by pulling before they are ripe, and burying them. The "fae," or wild species of other islands, is here cultivated. They have three varieties of cocoa-nuts; besides its use for food, a large quantity of oil is made from it. There is also an abundance of chestnuts (*Inocarpus edulis*), which serve the mountaineers for food.

The papaw apple, shaddock, the bitter orange, the white man's orange, the lemon, and the Malay apple; besides these several new native fruits were seen, called taravou, indava, the latter about the size of a hen's egg; it is glutinous, has a honey-like taste, with a kernel, and grows on a tree about fifty feet high.

We also found a new species of tomato (*Solanum*), which may be almost classed with the fruits. The natives cultivate it on account of its fruit, which is round, smooth, and about the size of a large peach. When ripe, its colour is yellow; its taste was by some thought to have a strawberry flavour. We trust we shall be able to introduce this species into cultivation in the United States; besides this, there are two smaller species, which the natives also eat. There is also a nutmeg (*Myristica*) indigenous to these islands.

Pumpkins, cucumbers, Cape gooseberry, guava, pine-apples, water-melons, and large red capsicums are in abundance.

The yam (*Dioscorea*), is the principal food of the inhabitants.



They have several varieties, one kind was growing wild ; these are carefully cultivated, and produce abundantly, although the crop is an uncertain one. In some places they attain a very large size, four or five feet in length, and have already become an article of export to Sydney, New South Wales.

They have a root called the kawai, resembling the Malay batata. It would be desirable to introduce this tuber into the United States. Vessels coming direct could easily effect this by preserving the small tubers. They have another root called ivia, which is used in cases of famine or short crops. The taro is also cultivated to a great extent, and exceedingly well attended to. The natives, after boiling, pound and bury it, as they do the bread-fruit.

The natives use the arrow-root (*Maranta arundinacea*), which is found in great abundance in the wild state.

Sugar-cane and the ti (*Dracæna*), are both cultivated ; the latter is thought to contain more saccharine juice than the former.

The turmeric (*Curcuma*), is extensively prepared and used with oil to anoint with. Tobacco is cultivated in quantities, and smoked with avidity throughout Polynesia. The desire for this narcotic prevails and increases among the western groups. Cotton is also a production, of a nankeen colour, and also a fine white species ; the cotton-tree (*Gossypium herbaceum*), is also found ; it grows to the height of fifteen feet.

The paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), from which they make their tapa-cloth, is carefully cultivated. For their mats they use the *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, and the *Pandanus odoratissimus*.

With the rattan (*Flagellaria*), they make baskets. The bamboo, palm, tree-fern, and bread-fruit are used in the construction of their houses and for domestic purposes. The iron-wood (*Casuarina indica*), for making spears and clubs. They have also a species of pine resembling the kaurie pine of New Zealand, of very large size.

The sandal-wood, which first attracted visitors to these islands, is now almost entirely destroyed ; it was with difficulty our botanists procured specimens.

The year is divided into eleven months, which always begin with the new moon. When it is first seen, it is celebrated by shouting and beating of drums.

The arms of the Feejeans consist of spears, clubs, bows and arrows, and they have within the last few years obtained a considerable number of fire-arms ; these latter are as yet inefficient in their hands.



## CHAPTER V.



## THE FEEJEE GROUP—REWA.

Departure of the Peacock from Levuka—Her arrival at the anchorage of Nukalon—Vendovi—Case of the Charles Doggett—Ambau—Mission of Lieutenant Budd—Thokanauto, or Mr. Phillips—Visit of the King and his Brothers—Visit of Captain Hudson to Rewa—The King's House—His mode of eating—His entertainment of the Ship's Officers—Messenger from Kantavu—Ceremony of Ava Drinking—King's Cupbearer—Exhibition of Fireworks—Nocturnal Adventure—Royal Breakfast—Country around Rewa—Ngaraninglou's House—Likenesses taken by Mr. Agate—Tribute from the People of Kantavu—Captain Hudson resolves to take Vendovi—Visit of the King and Queen—Ngaraninglou—The King, Queen, and Chiefs made prisoners—Ngaraninglou undertakes to bring Vendovi—Case of the Currency Lass—Disposition of the Prisoners—Theatricals for their entertainment—Phillips relates the History of Rewa—Character of Phillips—Return of Ngaraninglou with Vendovi—Leave-taking between Vendovi and his Brothers—Visit from Mr. Cargill—Sailing of the Peacock.

THE Peacock left Levuka on the 15th of May, and reached Rewa at noon the next day, for the purpose of visiting that town and inducing the king of Rewa to sign the Feejee regulations, and also to carry on the surveys in that quarter, and by orders subsequently sent by Paddy Connel to endeavour to capture the chief Vendovi, the perpetrator of the massacre of the crew of the brig Charles Doggett, Captain Bachelor, of Salem, of which the following are the particulars.

In the month of August, 1834, Paddy, with some other men, was engaged by Captain Bachelor to assist in getting a cargo of biche de mar. The brig then went to Rewa, where the captain made a contract with Vendovi, a chief of that island, and Vasu of Kantavu, for further assistance in attaining his object. Here the conduct of Vendovi, Thokanauto, and other chiefs, led to the suspicion that some mischief was intended; Paddy heard rumours of the great value of the articles on board the brig, accompanied by hints that the crew was but small, and predictions that it would not be well with her. He also found that a desire was evinced that he should not go farther in the vessel. In consequence, Paddy, while on the way to Kantavu, mentioned his suspicions to Captain Bachelor, and advised him to be on his guard. When they arrived at Kantavu, they proceeded to a small island near its eastern end, where the biche de mar house was erected, and a chief of the island was, as usual, taken on board as a hostage. The day after he came on board, he feigned sickness, and was, in consequence, permitted to go on shore. He departed with such unusual exhibitions of friendly disposition, as served to confirm Paddy's previous suspicions; but

he felt assured that all would be safe so long as the captain remained on board.

On the following morning (Sunday) Vendovi came off, saying that the young chief was very sick, and he wanted the captain to come to the biche de mar house, where he said he was, to give him some medicine. In this house eight of the men were employed, of whom two were Sandwich Islanders. The captain was preparing to go ashore with the medicine, when Paddy stepped aft to him, and told him that to go on shore was as much as his life was worth, for he was sure that the natives intended to kill him, and to take all their lives. The captain, in consequence, remained on board, but the mate went on shore, and took with him the bottle of medicine. Vendovi went in the boat, and landed with the mate, but could not conceal his disappointment that the captain did not come also. Paddy now was convinced, from the arrangements that had been made to get the people and boats away from the brig, that the intended mischief was about to be consummated. He therefore kept a sharp look-out upon the shore, and soon saw the beginning of an affray, the mate, Mr. Chitman, killed, and the building in flames. The others were also slain, with the exception of James Housman, who had been engaged at the same time with Paddy, and who swam off, and was taken on board. Those in the brig opened a fire from the great guns, but without effect.

On the following day Paddy was employed to bargain with the natives for the bodies, seven of which were brought down to the shore much mutilated, in consideration of a musket. The eighth, a negro, had been cooked and eaten. Captain Bachelor had the bodies sewed up in canvass, and thrown overboard, in the usual manner. They, however, floated again, and fell into the hands of the savages, who, as he afterwards understood, devoured them all. They complained, however, that they did not like them, and particularly the negro, whose flesh, they said, tasted strong of tobacco. The brig then went to Ovalau, where Paddy left her.

In addition, Paddy said that he was satisfied that all the chiefs of Rewa had been privy to the plot, particularly the brothers of Vendovi, and that the whole plan had been arranged before the brig left that island. Vendovi, however, was the person who had actually perpetrated the outrage.

The harbour of Rewa is formed by two small islands, called Nukalou and Mukalou, with their attached coral reefs, and has three passages into it. The two southern ones are safe, though narrow, but the northern one is much obstructed with coral lumps. The port is a secure one, and the anchorage, which is off the island of Nukalou, is about six miles from the town of Rewa, which is situated on a low piece of land, which the river, passing on each side of it, has formed into an island. Ambau lies to the north of Rewa, or the bay of that name. It is a singular-looking place. It occupies a small island, which is entirely covered with houses, among which the mbure stands conspicuous. The approach to the town is much obstructed by reefs of coral; and the water being shallow, is impassable for an armed vessel. The island is connected with the

main land or large island, by a long flat of coral, which is fordable, even at high water, and is in places quite bare at low water.

At present it is in the ascendancy, and its chiefs have a high estimate of their own importance. Thus, while I was at Levuka, I was much amused by a question put me by Seru, "Why I had not gone with my ship to Ambau? why come to Levuka, where there were no gentlemen, none but common people (kai-si)? all the gentlemen lived at Ambau."

Captain Hudson, after anchoring, sent Lieutenant Budd to the town of Rewa, for the purpose of communicating with the king and chief, and of obtaining the services of Thokananto (Mr. Phillips) as interpreter and pilot. Lieutenant Budd observed much apparent fear among the chiefs and people. The king, Kania, on the approach of the boats, had gone to hide himself in the outskirts of the town, but Mr. Phillips was met on the way coming towards them, and after much hesitation determined to accompany Mr. Budd on board the ship. The natives appeared to entertain the same fears as their chief.

Phillips is about thirty years of age, of middle size, active, and well-made; he is more intelligent than the natives generally, and his appearance less savage; he speaks English tolerably well, though it is not difficult to perceive whence he has obtained his knowledge of it, by the phrases he makes use of. It was not a little comical to hear a Feejee man talk of "New York high-binders," "Boston dandies," "Baltimore mobtowns." On assurances being given to the natives that we were their friends, they became more reconciled, and, after a time, the king, Kania, or Tui Ndraketi, was found, and invitations delivered to him to pay a visit to the ship.

On the morning of the 18th, Monday, the king and his brother, Ngaraningiou, visited the ship. The king came in a canoe of beautiful construction, about forty feet in length, propelled by paddles, which the king alone is allowed to use. Ngaraningiou was in a much larger canoe, having a large mast and sail, and the chief's pennant flying from the yard, but sculls were used.

The ship had been prepared for the king's visit; he was received with due ceremony, and was led aft, and seated on the quarter-deck. Tui Ndraketi is about forty years of age, and is a tall, fine-looking man, with a manly expression of countenance, and much dignity. His intellect is not as quick as that of his brother, Mr. Phillips; and his manner was cold and repulsive. He was without any attendants of high rank. Ngaraningiou shortly afterwards made his appearance, accompanied by six chiefs, and a retinue of thirty or forty men, forming a singular contrast to the unassuming appearance of the suite of the king. Another of the party was a chief of high rank, called Vunivalu, "Root of war:" he is a descendant of the royal family that were dethroned by Kania. His position gives him great influence, and, in case of war, the operations are confided to him. This chief bears among the foreigners, the title of governor.

Ngaraningiou is equally tall with his eldest brother, the king, and better and more gracefully formed. He may be considered a good

specimen of a Feejee man of high rank and fashion ; indeed, his deportment struck the officers as quite distinguished : he has, withal, the appearance of a *roué*, and his conduct does not belie the indications, and he is considered by all, both natives and white residents, as a dangerous man. The young chiefs who were his companions resembled him in character and manners. They were all shown over the ship, and everything exhibited that it was thought could interest them ; the small-arm men were exercised, the only music on board, the drum and sife were played. These, together with the firing off of the guns, shotted, did not fail to draw forth their usual expressions of wonder and surprise, "whoo-oo !" the same that was uttered by Tanoo's party, on board the Vincennes. After partaking of some refreshments with Captain Hudson, suitable presents were distributed to the king and chiefs, and they left the ship apparently highly delighted with their visit.

Although it had rained hard, Captain Hudson resolved to fulfil his promise to the king, of showing him some fireworks, and the gunner had been ordered up with rockets, fireworks, &c., for that purpose. He therefore proceeded to Rewa, to the king's house, where he found a large collection of natives. The house is large, and in shape not unlike a Dutch barn ; it is sixty feet in length and thirty in width ; the eaves were six feet from the ground, and along each side there were three large posts, two feet in diameter and six feet high, set firmly into the ground ; on these were laid the horizontal beams and plates to receive the lower ends of the rafters ; the rafters rise to a ridge-pole, thirty feet from the ground, which is supported by three posts in the centre of the building ; they were of uniform size, about three inches in diameter, and eighteen inches apart. The usual thick thatch was in this case very neatly made. The sides of the house were of small upright reeds, set closely together. All the fastenings were of sennit, made from the husk of the cocoa-nut. Some attempts at ornament were observed, the door-posts being covered with reeds wound around with sennit, which had a pretty effect. There are two doorways, one on each side : these are only about three feet in height, and are closed by hanging mats. At the inside of the principal door are two small cannons, pointed across it, which, in the eyes of the king, give it a formidable appearance. A sort of dais was raised at one end, a few inches ; this was covered with mats for the king and his wives, while at the other end mats were laid for his attendants : above was a shelf for his property, or riches, consisting of mats, tapa, earthenware, spears, and clubs. On one side of the house, as is usual among the Feejeans, the cooking-place is excavated a foot deep and about eight feet square ; this was furnished with three large earthen pots, of native manufacture, and two huge iron kettles, obtained from some whaling-ship, such as are used for trying out oil. These were crammed with food.

The king at once ordered provisions for his guests, for whom seats were provided on a sea-chest. The principal article of food was the salt beef he had received as a present from the ship, and which he named *bula-ma-kau*. After the meal was over, a small earthen

finger-bowl was brought to the king to wash his hands, and as the attendant did not seem to be prepared to extend the like courtesy to our gentlemen, a desire for a similar utensil was expressed and complied with, although apparently with some reluctance. In like manner, when the jar of water was brought to the king, one of the party seized upon it, and drank, and the rest followed suit, to the evident distress of the attendant. It was afterwards understood that his anxiety arose from the vessel being talloosed, as everything belonging or appropriated to the use of the king is. The Papalangi chiefs are exempted from these restrictions.

When the meal was finished, the whole company seated themselves in a semicircle. The house was now converted into an audience-hall, and the officers and stewards of the king entered to render their report of the day respecting the management of his business. A chief had just arrived to pay his respects to the king, and was dressed in a piece of new tapa, which was wrapped around his body in numerous folds. When he seated himself, he unrolled it, and tore it into strips of three fathoms in length, which he distributed to the chiefs around him, who immediately substituted it for their own dresses. This chief was the messenger announcing a tribute from Kantavu, and he had come to receive the commands of the king relative to its presentation, which was fixed upon to take place the next day.

There is a peculiar ceremony observed among this people in mixing their ava. It having been first chewed by several young persons, on the pouring in of the water, they all, following the ambati, raise a kind of howl, and say, "Ai seu." The people present were arranged in a semicircle, having the chief operator in the centre, with an immense wooden bowl before him. The latter, immediately after the water is poured in, begins to strain the liquid through the woody fibres of the van, and at the same time sings. He is accompanied in his song by those present, who likewise imitate all his motions with the upper part of their bodies while in a sitting posture. The motions keep time to the song. The king joined occasionally in the song, and when any important stage of the operation was arrived at, the song ceased, and a clapping of hands ensued. As each cup was filled to be served out, the ambati sitting near, uttered the same wild howl as before. The first cup is filled from another, that answers both for dipper and funnel, having a hole in it, over which he who brews the ava places his finger when dipping, and then withdrawing it, lets the liquid run out in a stream. They are very particular to see that no one touches the king's cup except the cupbearer.

On the present occasion, a worthless Englishman, by the name of James Housman, called Jim or Jimmy, officiated. Few would have distinguished him from a native, so closely was he assimilated to them in ideas and feelings, as well as in his crouching before the chiefs, his mode of sitting, and slovenly walk. On the king's finishing drinking, there was a general clapping of hands; but when the lower order of chiefs were served, this was not observed, and, in lieu of it, there was a general exclamation of "Sa madaa" (it is empty).

After *ava*, the king rinses his mouth, lights his cigar, or pipe, and lolls on his mat. It was laughable to see the king's barber take his *ava*; as he is not allowed to touch anything with his hands, it becomes necessary that the cup shall be held for him by another person, who also feeds him. One of the officers gave him a cigar, which was lighted and put in his mouth, and when he wished to remove it, he did it in a very ingenious manner, by twisting a small twig around it.

About nine o'clock the fireworks were exhibited. When the first rocket was sent off, the natives exhibited fear and excitement; the king seized Captain Hudson by the hand, and trembled like a leaf. When the rockets burst, and displayed their many stars, they all seemed electrified. This exhibition excited the wonder and amazement of all the country round, and induced them to believe that these flying spirits were collected for the destruction of Rewa, and they themselves would be the next to suffer.

After the fireworks, they all retired, Captain Hudson taking up his abode with the king, and continuing to talk with him until a late hour. When they retired to their sleeping apartments, he found his place of rest was divided by tapa-cloths and screens from the rest of the apartments of the house, and well-furnished with mosquito-netting. Ere he got to sleep, he was surprised to find his mosquito-net moving, and still more so, when he saw the figure of a woman, one of the king's own wives, of whom he has a large number, endeavouring to become his bedfellow. This was to him an unexpected adventure, and an honour of which he was not ambitious. He therefore called loudly for Paddy Connel and Jimmy, the king's body servant and cupbearer, and through them very politely declined the honour; but the lady positively refused to go away, saying that she had been sent by the king, and must sleep there; that she durst not go away, for the king would *club her*! She was told that she must go, that the matter would be arranged with the king in the morning, and she need have no fears about it. She then left the mosquito-net, although with evident alarm as to the consequences, and would go no farther. Seeing this, Captain Hudson sent Jimmy to the king, to say he did not wish a bedfellow; to which the monarch replied it was well, and directed the woman to withdraw, which she did as soon as satisfied that it was the king's command. This circumstance, together with the continued trampling of the mice, with which the palace is overrun, drove away anything like sleep; and Captain Hudson, in self-defence, was obliged to pass the remainder of the night with Paddy and Jimmy over the fire.

As soon as the day dawned, his majesty, who is an early riser, called for his *ava*, and her majesty called out lustily for Jimmy to light a cigar and bring it to her in bed, for she is as fond of cigars as her royal spouse. After the king had drunk his *ava* and smoked his cigar, they had breakfast of baked pig, taro, and yams. The repast was spread upon a mat; after which Captain Hudson, accompanied by the king and Paddy Connel, crossed the river to the missionaries, where they partook of a second breakfast, the king

behaving himself with great decorum at the table; and Paddy, too, took his second lunch behind the door, with great enjoyment. The king renewed his promises to build their houses, as soon as the weather became fine, and said that then he would not leave them until they were finished. This engagement, I am happy to say, he fully performed.

The town of Rewa, though in a low situation, has a picturesque though singular appearance. It extends about a mile along the river, and contains from five to six hundred houses of all sizes, from the lofty mbures with their pointed roofs, and the barn-like edifices of the chiefs, to the rickety shanties of the *kai-sis*, and the diminutive yam-houses, perched on four posts, to protect the yams from the depredations of the rats. It is everywhere intersected by narrow lanes, closely shut in with high reed fences.

Ngaraningiou's dwelling at Rewa is considered the most elegant house in the Feejees. It is very elaborately ornamented with *seamit* and braid. Order and decorum reign throughout, for Ngaraningiou is extremely dignified and reserved in his domicile, and is reputed to be somewhat of a tyrant. He will not suffer any of the natives to approach and gaze in at his doors, which is a common practice with them; and when, on one occasion, a stranger took the liberty to peep in at his door, he is said to have asked him if his head was made of iron that he dared thus to presume.

Mr. Agate made good use of his short stay at Rewa. While wandering about, he was met by a priest, who came to him and signified by signs he wished him to sketch something, and at the same time pointing to a house. Mr. Agate followed him in. There was a large number of retainers present, and shortly after his entrance a man was aroused from his mat, who said he wished his likeness taken. His head was dressed in the most elaborate

and extravagant fashion of Rewa, and from the number of his retainers, he appeared to be a high chief. A day or two after he proved to be the notorious Vendovi, brother to the king, and the person whom we desired to capture. He had his face smeared with oil and lampblack.

From his head-dress our gentlemen recognised him as the individual who had been their guide in one of the short excursions they had made in the neighbourhood.

Mr. Agate also obtained good likenesses of the king and queen.

Whilst he was employed in sketching these, he witnessed the delivery of their tribute by the people of Kantavu. When the king was

seated in state, with his principal officers around him, the chiefs of Kantavu appeared, each encircled with many folds of tapa and



VENDOVI.



mats. After leaving their clubs, &c., near the door, they entered, crouching upon their hands and feet, and thus passed round the semicircle to their appointed places. Their chief continued to proceed towards the king, and, when near, presented his majesty with a whale's tooth, neatly slung in the manner of a powder-horn. The king, on receiving it, answered, "Endina." The chief then retired, and was followed by another, who, after disburdening himself of the tapa in which he was enveloped, gave place to another, and so on to the last. Each offering was acknowledged by the king in the same tone of voice and manner. When all had been received, they retired in the same order they had entered, and the king took especial care to place the new acquisitions among his valuables. This was understood to be the tribute for a year.

These presents are usually received in the square before the king's house, and a dance generally follows. But owing to the heavy rains, which had converted not only this spot, but the whole of Rewa, into a mud-puddle, they were deprived of an opportunity of witnessing one of these tribute dances; a deprivation which they much regretted, for foreigners seldom have an opportunity of seeing them.

At night they stopped at the town of Coronganga. Here they took possession of the mbure, and with the assistance of Mr. Phillips's white steward, they made themselves quite comfortable.

The banks showed a rise and fall of the water during the night. It was full tide about eleven o'clock at night; according to Phillips, the tide flowed some miles above this place.

Captain Hudson's next step was to endeavour to capture Vendovi.

At an early hour on the 21st, the king and queen, one of their children, and Ngaraningiou, together with the son of Vunivalu, came on board. As Mr. Phillips was already there, all the royal family, excepting Vendovi, were, by their own act, within our power, and it was said he was also to come in the afternoon. There was an evident constraint in the manner of the visitors, which was apparent from their not expressing the usual astonishment at everything they saw. Their little daughter, of five or six years of age, had a sprightly countenance, and, as usual, her head was enveloped in twisted locks. One of the officers presented her with a sash, which he tied on, and the by-standers were much amused to see the queen re-arranging it after the Feejee fashion.

The queen was observed to have paid more attention than is usual to the decency of her dress, being enveloped in the pareu, after the Tonga fashion. She is a fine-looking woman, with an intelligent countenance. The king wore his maro, accompanied with the seavo, which is the name they give to the long trains of tapa attached to it, that are worn by chiefs to denote their rank. The seavo of the king trailed several feet on the ground.

The person who attracted the most attention was Ngaraningiou, with his attendant chiefs. In truth, he came in fine style, moving towards the ship in his beautiful canoe, with its long streamers (denoting the rank of the owner) floating in the breeze. When he

came on board, it was at once seen that he had decked himself specially for the occasion. His face was painted red and black, which, if possible, improved his appearance as a savage chief. He was by far the finest-looking person among the whole assembled group. His hair was frizzled out with great care; around his neck he wore a necklace of shells, with armlets of the trochus; and his thighs were encircled with a black cord. The usual seavo was worn by him, and over it a flounce of black fringe, which added much to the effect of the whole, and gave him the look of being partly dressed. Every exertion being made to entertain them, the constraint they were under was soon dissipated, and never did people seem to enjoy themselves more.

It was hoped by Captain Hudson, until afternoon, that Vendovi would make his appearance; but four o'clock came, and no chief. Captain Hudson then concluded that he was not coming, and that it would be impossible to take him, unless by force. He therefore determined to try the expedient of retaining those he had on board until Vendovi should be forthcoming. He ordered the drums to beat to quarters, and placed a sentinel at the cabin-door, ordering at the same time that all their canoes should be retained alongside. The king and chiefs were immediately informed, through the interpreter, that they were prisoners, and that the object was to obtain Vendovi, the murderer of the crew of the *Charles Doggett*, some eight years before. It may readily be imagined that this announcement threw them all into great consternation, while it was, at the same time, a matter of surprise to all the officers of the ship. The poor queen was apparently the most alarmed, and anxiously inquired of Phillips if they were all to be put to death. Phillips was equally frightened with the rest, and it was observed that his nerves were so much affected for some time afterwards that he was unable to light a cigar that was given him, and could not speak distinctly. Captain Hudson reminded them, that they had visited the ship of their own accord, and without any promise of safeguard from him; that his object was to obtain Vendovi, and that all hopes of obtaining him without this decisive measure had failed; that he meant them no harm, but it was his intention to detain them until Vendovi was brought off. The canoes were likewise secured, and orders given to allow no one to leave the ship. The whole party thus made prisoners consisted of seventy or eighty natives.

The king and chiefs, when they had recovered themselves a little, acknowledged that our demand was a just one; that Vendovi deserved to be punished; that he was a dangerous character among themselves; and that they would be glad to see him removed. At the same time, they said they thought the capture of Vendovi impossible, and gave many reasons for this opinion. They expressed great fears for the missionaries and their families, when the people of Rewa should hear of their detention. Captain Hudson had assured himself previously of the perfect safety of the missionaries and their families, and well knew that this was a *ruse* on the part of the king to induce him to change his purpose.

They soon found him fully determined in his purpose. It was

shortly arranged that, with his permission, Ngaraningiou and another chief should go quietly to Rewa, take Vendovi by surprise, before he had time to escape, and bring him on board alive if possible. In order to insure protection to the missionaries and their establishments, they were particularly told that the missionaries had nothing to do with the business, and did not know of it, as was evident from Mr. Jagger having returned to Rewa before they were detained, and that every influence must be exerted to protect them from harm, or the prisoners might expect the most exemplary punishment.

The selection of Ngaraningiou as the emissary to capture the murderer was well-timed, as Vendovi had always been his rival, and the temptation to get rid of so powerful an adversary was an opportunity not to be lost by a Feejee man, although that adversary was a brother. He was soon under way in his double canoe, which, with its enormous sail spread to a strong breeze, was speedily out of sight.

The king, at Captain Hudson's request, informed his people that none must attempt to leave the ship, or they would be fired at; that they must remain on board until further orders; and that, in the mean time, they would be supplied with food. One attempt was made by a small canoe to leave the ship, but on seeing the preparations for firing at it, the persons in it quickly returned.

After the departure of Ngaraningiou, the king, queen, and chiefs became more reconciled to their position. They talked much about Vendovi and the murder he had committed on the crew of the Charles Doggett, and said that he had also killed his eldest brother.

The king, during the evening, spoke much of his being a friend to the white men, asserted that he had always been so, and adduced, as an instance of it, his conduct in the case of the Currency Lass, an English trading schooner, of Sydney, New South Wales. He said that this vessel, in going out of the harbour, had got on shore near the anchorage; that his people had assembled round about her for plunder, but that he went on board himself, and kept all his subjects off that were not required to assist. He told Captain Wilson and the owner, Mr. Houghton, who was on board, that if she got off he should expect a present, which they readily consented to give; but if she broke, and got water in her hold, the vessel and property must be his. This, he said, they also agreed to. His people wishing her to go to pieces, made several attempts to remove the anchors, but he stopped them, and drove them away; and the only thing he did, with the hope of getting the vessel himself, while he was assisting the captain to get her off, was to send up some of his chiefs to Rewa, to give a present to the ambati, at the mbure, to offer up prayers to the Great Spirit, that he would cause her to get water in. Something went wrong with the spirit, and the vessel got clear. The only thing the owner gave him was a whale's tooth and a small looking-glass.

When the evening set in, the natives (kai-sis) were all brought on board for the night, and placed forward on the gun-deck. Here they were supplied with plenty of hard bread and molasses, which they

enjoyed exceedingly, and afterwards performed several dances. The performers arranged themselves in two ranks, and went through various movements, with their bodies, heads, arms, and feet, keeping time to a song in a high monotonous key, in which the whole joined, the ranks occasionally changing places, those in the rear occupying the front, and the others retiring behind.

The inferior chiefs were provided with a sail under the half-deck ; the king, queen, and their little daughter were accommodated by Captain Hudson in his cabin. The king having expressed a desire to have his evening draught of ava, some of the Piper mythisiticum, from which it is made, was fortunately found among the botanical specimens which had been collected, and a large and well-polished dish-cover was converted into an ava-bowl. The ava was accordingly brewed, and all the usual ceremonies gone through with, even to the king's having his own cup-bearer, Jimmy Housman, who was one of the party.

After the ava was over, theatricals were resorted to for the amusement of their majesties. This was a business in which many of the crew of the Peacock were proficient, having been in the habit of amusing themselves in this way. Jim Crow was the first piece, and well personated, both in appearance and song, by Oliver, the ship's tailor. This representation did not fail to amuse the audience exceedingly, and greatly astonished their majesties. Jim Crow's appearance, on the back of a jackass, was truly comical ; the ass was enacted by two men in a kneeling posture, with their posteriors in contact ; the body of the animal was formed of clothing ; four iron belying-pins served it for feet ; a ship's swab for its tail, and a pair of old shoes for its ears, with a blanket as a covering. The walking of the mimic quadruped about the deck, with its comical-looking rider, and the audience, half civilised, half savage, gave the whole scene a very remarkable effect. The king confessed that if he had been alone, he would be much frightened at the curvetting and braying of the beast before him. The queen, on its being explained to her that what she saw was only two men, expressed the greatest astonishment in her eager, incredulous look. The dance of "Juba" came off well, through the exertions of Howard and Shepherd, but the braying ass of Godwin, with the Jim Crow of Oliver, will long be remembered by their savage as well as civilised spectators. The whole company seemed contented and happy ; the king had his extra bowl of ava, the queen and chiefs their tea and supper ; and all enjoyed their cigars, of which they smoked a great number. On Captain Hudson expressing to the king his hope that the queen had got over her fears, and inquiring if she was tired, he replied : " Why should she be troubled ? is she not with me ? When I die, must she not die also ? " Thereby intimating that were he in peril, she would be equally so, whether present or absent. The theatricals having been ended, they all retired to rest.

One could not but perceive the great difference between the Tongese and Feejees who passed the night on board. The former are generally Christians, or missionaries' people ; they were orderly

and respectable, and before going to rest, quietly and very devoutly met and had their evening prayer; which, contrasted with the conduct of the others, had a pleasing effect.

Mr. Phillips, in recompense for his attention, was well provided for by the officers; and, at various times, imparted information respecting the history of Rewa, his own family, and others, that may be looked upon as quite authentic.

By the aid of the whites, Tambiavalu, father of Kania, was established as king, upon the dethronement of the reigning family, of whom Vunivalu, the governor, is a descendant. Rewa at this time was of little consequence, comprising only the small town of Ndraketi, from which the king now derives his title.

Tambiavalu governed with great firmness and wisdom. During his reign all criminals met with exemplary punishment. According to the Feejee custom, he had many wives, the chief among whom was a descendant of the family of Mbatitombi, who reigned at Ambau before Bamiva, the father of Tanoa, succeeded in gaining the kingdom. Although considered the queen, and holding the title of Ramdini-Ndraketi, she was not the highest in rank. There was also among the wives of Tambiavalu a sister of Tanoa, named Salaiwai, who was younger, and in consequence had not the station to which her rank entitled her.

Phillips gives Tambiavalu the credit of having had a hundred children by his numerous wives and concubines, a statement of which those best acquainted with Feejee history do not doubt the correctness. Of this large progeny, the children by the two above-mentioned females are alone entitled to any rank. By the queen, Ramdini-Ndraketi, he had four sons, named Madonovi, Kania, Valivuaka, and Ngaraningiou. By Salaiwai, he had only two, Seru and Thokanauto (Mr. Phillips). Of the six, Kania, Ngaraningiou, and Thokanauto are still living.

Tambiavalu had a long and prosperous reign, and under him Rewa assumed a rank among the chief cities of the Feejees, having acquired much territory, and among the rest the island of Katnavu. His eldest son, Koraitamano, was the child of a Kantavu woman of rank; he was, in consequence, a vasu of the most important possessions of Rewa, and had many connections and friends throughout the country; he had so ingratiated himself with the chiefs and people, that he could have made himself king on the death of his father. Ramdini-Ndraketi, the queen, who is represented as a most artful as well as unscrupulous woman, was fearful that his popularity might become disadvantageous to her children, and she determined to have him removed. She managed to instil into the king's mind suspicions that Koraitamano intended to seize upon the succession, which determined him to put this son to death. Koraitamano received a hint of his intentions, and was able to evade every attempt. On some occasions he was obliged to flee to distant places, once to Ra, the western end of Vitilevu, and another time to Mbenga, where he remained until a kind of reconciliation took place, when he was induced to return. He had not been long in Rewa, before the queen recommenced her

machinations for his destruction, and his father also resumed his designs against him.

Koraitamano was doubtful whether again to resort to flight or remain, when some chiefs who were hostile to the king, represented to the young chief that the only method to secure his own safety effectually was to put his father to death, assuring him they would stand by him in the struggle. By their persuasions he was induced to accede to their designs. At night he set fire to a canoe-house, and coming into his father's dwelling, he approached the place where he was sleeping, and cried out, "Do you lie here asleep when your city is burning!" Tambiavalu immediately started up and ran out. Koraitamano following closely after him, watched an occasion, struck him with his club on the back of his head, and killed him on the spot; after which he retired to his own house, trusting to the promises of his friends and adherents, that they would protect and defend him. But the queen was more than an equal for his cunning, and her hatred caused her to go the greatest lengths in wreaking her vengeance upon him. She had the body brought to the house, where, observing that the external injury to the head was slight, she conceived the singular plan of making the deed of the assassin and his friends recoil upon their own heads. She, therefore, at once raised a cry that the body showed signs of life, and that her husband was not dead. She then had the body conveyed to the farther end of his house, under the plea that he required to be removed from the noise; and no one was suffered to approach the body but herself and a Tonga woman, who was her confidante. She soon spread the report that the king had recovered his senses, but was very weak, and called upon several chiefs in the king's name, saying that he required the instant death of Koraitamano. The chiefs convened a meeting to consider the course that ought to be pursued, but could come to no decision, in consequence of the general opinion that the conduct of Koraitamano was justifiable; although, on the other hand, they feared the wrath of the king, in case he should recover, particularly those who had advised and wished to uphold Koraitamano. The queen, becoming aware of their hesitation, on the following morning took some whales' teeth and other valuables, and presented them herself to the chiefs, saying they were sent by the king to purchase the death of his son. Fearing to hold out any longer, they went to Koraitamano and announced to him the fatal mandate, and he was immediately killed. They then proceeded to the king's house to report that the deed was done, and on approaching the couch of the king, the putrescent odour which proceeded from the corpse at once disclosed to them the deception that had been practised. It was, however, too late to amend the matter, and Madonovi, the eldest son of the queen, now succeeded his father without opposition. One of the first acts of Madonovi was to build an mbure over the spot where his father was murdered. His succession deprived Seru and Thokanauto (Phillips) of their right to the throne, and of course excited their hostility to the reigning chief, who was by no means so popular as his father, and did not govern to the satisfaction of his subjects. Seru, who was the oldest

of the two malcontents, was a very tall and remarkably handsome man, and had great influence among the people, which excited the jealousy of the king. Such was his strength that it is said he could knock down a full-grown hog by a blow on the forehead, and would break a cocoa-nut by striking it on his elbow.

Mutual words of defiance had passed between the two brothers, and they were living in daily expectation of some encounter that would bring on serious disturbances. During the height of this feeling, they met on the road, where the scene that was enacted was quite remarkable, and the narration of it by Phillips equally so.

Seru had one of the short missile clubs (ula) in his girdle, which Feejee men usually wear stuck in behind. As Madonovi approached, Seru placed his back against the fence without any design. The king had three shaddocks (molitivi) in his hand, of which, as he came up to Seru, he held one up and called out in sport, that he meant to throw it at him. The thought then came into Seru's mind that if the king threw and hit him he would let him pass, but that if he missed he would take the opportunity to put him to death. He, therefore, replied to his brother in the same jocose manner, "Throw, but if you miss, I'll try." The king threw, but missed. He then drew nearer, and holding up another of the shaddocks, cried out, "This time I will hit you." To which Seru replied, "Take care; if you miss, then I'll try." The king threw again, but Seru, by a quick movement, avoided the missile. Madonovi then advanced to within two or three yards of Seru, saying, "This time I think I shall hit you." Seru made himself ready to avoid it, and with his hands behind him, said, "If you miss, then I take my turn." The king threw the third time and missed, for Seru stooped, and the shaddock passed over his shoulder. Seru then drew himself up, flourished his club in the air, and exclaimed in tones of exulting mockery, "Aha, I think you did not see this!" With that he hurled his weapon with so deadly an aim that it crushed the skull of the king, and killed him on the spot.

As soon as this event became known, the queen with her other sons fled to Ambau, leaving the supreme power in the hands of Seru, who, however, did not take the title of Ndraketi, but adopted that of Tui Sawau, after the chief town of Mbenga, on which he had made war and captured, and by which title he was thenceforth known. He was not, however, long left to enjoy his authority. The exiled family made several unsuccessful attempts to destroy him, and at last induced Vendovi, by a large bribe, to undertake his destruction. Vendovi managed to get to Rewa unobserved, and looking in at the door of Thokanauto's house, saw Tui Sawau lying on his mat eating. He immediately levelled his musket and shot him. Four balls passed through his breast, but such was the strength of his constitution, that he survived for eight days. This occurred in the year 1827.

When it became known at Ambau that this fratricide had been committed, the queen and her sons returned to Rewa, and Kanias assumed the direction of the government, to the exclusion of Thokanauto.

The character of Phillips, who calls himself the white man's friend, is rather equivocal. He is said while young to have been fed mostly on human flesh. When I saw him on board my ship at Levuka, I told him I had heard that he liked this food, and I thought that he showed much shame at being considered a cannibal by us. His youthful practices, which he told as though some credit were due to himself for a change in his latter conduct, will tend to show how early these natives employ themselves in inflicting pain on each other. One of these was to set a sharp-pointed stick in the ground, cover it with earth, and then challenge another boy to jump with him. He would then leap in such a manner that the boy, on following his example, would alight upon the pointed stick, and run it through his foot. He is said also to be frequently employed by the king as an instrument of his vengeance. The missionaries relate that he was once sent to kill a native by the king's order, upon which he went to the person's house, and told him that "The king has sent me to kill you ;" to which he replied, "It is good only that I should die." Phillips struck, but only stunned him, after which he returned, and told the king he had not succeeded in killing him. When the man recovered, Phillips was again sent back, and succeeded in giving him his death-blow, which he received with the same resignation as before. Notwithstanding his bad traits, he is certainly one of the most intelligent natives that I have met with in all Polynesia. He possesses much information respecting his own people, and would, if the king allowed it, be the means of effecting many improvements. He has already introduced some into his own establishment, and is very desirous of learning, but he unfortunately has not sufficient knowledge to distinguish between good and evil. He visits all the vessels that touch at this group, and says that he passes most of his time on board of them. He produces many recommendations from their commanders, which, besides recommending him, give the very salutary precaution of always being on their guard while among these natives.

The prisoners on board the Peacock were early in motion on the following morning, looking anxiously for the return of Ngaraningiou ; and many speculations were thrown out as to whether he would succeed in his errand, or connive at the escape of Vendovi. The hatred he was known to bear Vendovi, was in favour of his return with him, either dead or alive. These surmises were shortly put to rest, by the appearance of the large canoe emerging from the mouth of the river, which drew all to watch its approach. It soon came alongside, and Vendovi was recognised as a prisoner on board. The mode of his capture was singular, and shows the force of the customs to which all ranks of this people give implicit obedience. Ngaraningiou, on arriving at Rewa, went at once to Vendovi's house, and took him by surprise. Going in, he took his seat by him, laid his hand on his arm, and told him that he was wanted, and that the king had sent for him to go on board the man-of-war. He immediately assented, and was preparing to come at once, but Ngaraningiou said, "Not till to-morrow." They passed the evening and night together, and in the morning embarked to come on board.



Vendovi was at once brought on board and delivered to Captain Hudson, who forthwith examined him before the king and chiefs, and in the presence of the officers of the ship, assembled in the cabin. Vendovi acknowledged his guilt in causing the murder of part of the crew of the *Charles Doggett*, and admitted that he had held the mate by the arms while the natives killed him with clubs. Captain Hudson now explained why he had thought proper to retain the king and the others as prisoners, saying that the course the affair had taken had saved them much trouble, and probably fighting, for he would have thought it incumbent upon him to burn Rewa, if Vendovi had not been taken. The king replied, that Captain Hudson had done right; that he would like to go to America himself, they had all been treated so well; that we were now all good friends, and that he should ever continue to be a good friend to all white men. Vendovi was now put in irons, and the others were told that the ship would go to Kantavu, to punish any other chiefs that had participated in the act, and burn their towns. They were assured of our amicable disposition towards them, so long as they conducted themselves well; and in order to impress this fully upon them, after their own fashion, presents were made them, which were received gratefully.

When the leave-taking came, Phillips appeared the most dejected of all. This seemed strange after the part Vendovi had taken in the murder of his brother, of one whom he represented as having been very kind to him as a protector, and with whom he lived when the fatal shot was fired by Vendovi. Phillips expressed himself in this way, "That as long as Seru lived he could be saucy, but after his death he was all alone, just like a stick." This kind of opposite conduct is conformable to the usual policy of this people, and is characteristic. Vendovi, at this time, was the only one of his brothers who favoured the party of Phillips, and was among his strongest adherents. I could mention many other instances of the same inconsistency of conduct on the part of chiefs.

All the party were now much affected. Kania, the king, seated himself on the right side of Vendovi, taking hold of his arm, while Navumialu placed himself on the left. Phillips walked up and down in front. All shed tears, and sobbed aloud while conversing in broken sentences with their brother. The natives shed tears also, and none but Ngaraningiou remained unmoved. The king kissed the prisoner's forehead, touched noses, and turned away. The inferior chiefs approached and kissed his hands, whilst the common people crawled up to him and kissed his feet. One young man who belonged to the household of Vendovi was the last to quit him; he wished to remain with his master, but was not permitted. In bidding farewell to the chief, he embraced his knees, kissed his hands and feet, and received a parting blessing from Vendovi, who placed both his manacled hands on his head. The young man then retreated backwards towards the ladder, sighing and sobbing as though his heart would break. The last request the king made to Captain Hudson was, that his own barber, Oahu Sam, (a Sandwich Islander,) might accompany Vendovi. This was readily

assented to as he would be a useful man on board ship, having sailed in a whaler, and having some knowledge of the English language.

Mr. Cargill, the missionary, came on board the Peacock shortly after the royal party had left her, and informed Captain Hudson that, the night before, the chief who had been sent for his protection, had visited him, and said that he should keep guard over him and his house, and not suffer any one to cross the river from Rewa. Mr. Cargill said there had been no kind of disturbance, the chief having remained at his house until the king returned, and he felt much indebted to Captain Hudson for the lively interest he had taken in his affairs. He did not feel at all apprehensive of danger to themselves, and there was no kind of necessity for the detention of the ship on that account. At noon Mr. Cargill took his leave. When I saw him, a few weeks afterwards, he spoke in very high terms of the conduct of Captain Hudson, and the manner in which he had conducted the whole business at Rewa. He also told me that the chiefs often spoke of it, and were fully sensible that it was just that Vendovi should be punished. Mr. Cargill spoke much of the vast benefit that would result from our visit, not only to the trading vessels and whites generally, but also to the natives, as well as the advantage it would be to the missionary cause.

Preparations were now made for sailing; but, owing to the wind being ahead, they were not able to pass the reefs until the morning of the 23rd; in the mean time, Oahu Sam was received on board as Vendovi's barber. When they got to sea, Captain Hudson again examined Vendovi, before several of the officers, respecting the Kantavu murder, and the part he had himself taken in it. He stated, that he was sent by Ngaraningiou to pilot the brig to Kantavu; and that a chief of that place, called Thebau, who is now dead, was to take the vessel for Ngaraningiou. Thebau was to make what he could for himself, and was the leader of the conspiracy to murder the crew. Ten of the crew were killed, eight of them in the biche de mar house, and the mate and boy near the boat. The people of the towns of Numbuwallo, Lueti, and Boro, had cut large vines to pass under the cable, for the purpose of hauling the vessel on shore during the night. He also stated that a black man had been roasted and eaten by the natives, but that he himself did not partake. Nine bodies were given up to Paddy Connel, and were taken on board, sewed up in canvass, and sunk alongside. The bodies afterwards floated on shore, and were eaten by the natives. His statement, therefore, conformed to that of Paddy in all important particulars.

Vendovi likewise mentioned another act of his, as follows. About two years before, the mate of the whale-ship Nimrod, of Sydney, New South Wales, landed at Kantavu to purchase provisions. Vendovi saw some large whales' teeth in possession of the mate, in order to obtain which, he made him and the boat's crew prisoners. He then told the mate to write to his captain to ransom him and his men, and that he must have fifty whales' teeth, four axes, two plates, a case of pipes, a bundle of fish-hooks, an iron pot, and a bale of

cloth. These were all sent him, and they were released, he giving the mate a present of a head of tortoiseshell.

Captain Hudson, having thus successfully accomplished the capture of Vendovi, determined, as the allotted time for joining the boats had nearly expired, to bear up for the west end of Vitilevu; where I shall now leave him, and return to Levuka, to the rest of the squadron.



## CHAPTER VI.

## FEEJEE GROUP (CONTINUED).

Effects of the intention to take Vendovi—Fear of an Attack on the Seru detained as Hostage—Preparations for resistance—Town of Missionaries—Cannibal Feast—Junction with the Porpoise—Ceremonies of Ava-drinking—Proceedings of the Porpoise between 8th and 9th of June—Visit to Lakemba—Tui Neau—Argo Reef—Kendi—Levukians—Geological structure of Lakemba—Island highest Peak ascended—Islands of Ticumbia, Susui, &c.—Port Somu—Return to Levuka—H.B.M. Schooner Starling—V. Belcher—His opinion of the Regulations—Nukulau—Islands Lieutenant Underwood—Town of Corobamba—Island of Anga—Lieutenant Underwood—Native Club Dance—Vincennes leaves Levu. Island—Dangers of the Passage to Savu-Savu—Ambush of the Nat. Savu-Savu—Hot Springs—Island of Goro and Horseshoe Reef—V. Peacock anchor in Sandalwood Bay.



IMMEDIATELY after dispa.

Paddy Connel on his errand to Captain Hudson, Whippy came to me. He had heard on board the ship, some intimation of the purport of the message sent to Rewa by Connel, and he advised me to be on my guard for the first movement after Vendovi's capture. He thought that an endeavour would be made by the people of Ambau to surprise the observatory, and to take me prisoner, (for the purpose of ransoming Vendovi), for they are closely allied to those of Rewa. As our distance from Ambau was no more than a few hours' travel, it would be easy for Tanoa, or his son Seru, to fall upon us with a thousand men, before we could have any

notice whatever of their approach. After hearing all he had to say upon the subject, I sent him for Tui Levuka, who came to my tent. His amazement was great when he was told what was in progress, and

he seemed to be almost beside himself for a few moments. When he was sufficiently recovered, I told him that I put implicit confidence in him; that if he suffered me to be surprised by any force, on him and his people would rest the responsibility, and that I looked to him to give me the earliest notice of any attempt to attack me. This he accordingly promised, and, at the same time, he told Whippy, the most probable persons from whom any attack would come would be the mountaineers, who were all now under the influence of Ambau, and would be easily induced to attack us. A thousand of them, according to his opinion, might be upon us in a few hours; but we had little to fear before dawn of day, for that was the only time at which they made an attack, choosing the time of the second or soundest sleep. He then went off to send out his scouts and spies, in order to bring me the earliest information.

Seru was on board the ship when I heard these things. I therefore sent off word that he should be kept on board as a kind of hostage, and ordered forty men to reinforce the observatory, after dark. The night, however, was quiet, and there were no signs of the natives moving about on shore. Seru was amused with rockets, &c., on board, and passed his time to his satisfaction.

On the 21st, the ship was moved up abreast the observatory point, in order to protect it, and moored so that her guns might rake each side of the point in case of an attack. The knoll on which I had erected the observatory was a strong position, and we now set to work to make it more so, by clearing it of all the rubbish and brushwood that might afford cover to assailants. Signals were arranged with the ship in case of attack, to direct the fire of the guns, and all things made ready to give any hostile force a warm reception. About eight o'clock in the evening, Whippy told me that a report had reached Tui Levuka that there was trouble at Rewa, and that the king and chiefs were prisoners; but to this we gave no credit at the time. In the morning, however, I learned through him, that one old chief had got information that Vendovi was a prisoner, and that the king and queen would be released; in fact, nearly the whole story that has been related in the preceding chapter, reached Levuka before the day on which it occurred had passed. On inquiring of Tui Levuka, through Whippy, after I had heard the particulars, and learned how nearly they corresponded with the report, how he obtained his information, his answer was, "Did you not tell me to bring you the earliest news, and have my spies out?"

Early on the morning of the 22nd, Seru left the ship and proceeded to Ambau, although I had been informed that it was his intention to go to the different islands to bring us hogs and yams. Tui Levuka called my attention to this, and also to the fact that a messenger had brought Seru intelligence of what had happened at Rewa during the stay of the Peacock there, and of the sailing of that ship with Vendovi on board.

During this time many things occurred to keep us on the alert. On the night of the 23rd, the usual number of men were landed at the observatory, and in the night a musket was accidentally fired,

which, of course, created some stir, but it proved a false alarm ; it, however, served to keep up our vigilance in case of attack.

On the 7th of June we sailed for Vuna Island.

Somu-somu, although one of the chief towns of Feejee, acknowledges a sort of subjection to Ambau. The cause of this is found in an ancient tradition of a contest between their respective tutelar spirits, in which the spirit of Somu-somu was overcome, and compelled to perform the tama or salute due to a superior to the god of Ambau.

The town of Somu-somu contains about two hundred houses, which are more straggling than any I had yet seen. It is partly built below a bluff, which affords a very safe retreat and strong defence to its inhabitants, and is divided, therefore, into a lower and upper town. The old mbure near the missionaries' house is nearly gone to decay. Here was found the only carved image I saw in the group ; it was a small figure cut out of solid wood, and the missionaries did not seem to think that it was regarded by the people with any reverence. The priest appears to have taken up his abode with the old king, and was apparently held in great reverence.

The town is situated on the north-west side of the island of Vuna, which is separated from the island of Vanua-levu, or the large land, by a strait five miles wide in its narrowest part, which I have called the Strait of Somu-somu. The island of Vuna rises gradually to a central ridge, the height of which, by several measurements, was found to be two thousand and fifty-two feet. The summit is generally covered with clouds. From its gradual rise, and its surface being smoother, it is susceptible of a much higher state of cultivation than the other islands ; the soil is a rich reddish loam, and it appears to be considered as the most fruitful of the islands. At the same time, its inhabitants are acknowledged by all to be the most savage. Cannibalism prevails here to a greater extent than anywhere else.

The length of Vuna is twenty-five miles, and its breadth five miles.

I dined, and spent the afternoon with the missionaries and their ladies, and heard a recital of some of the trials they have been subjected to. Mr. Hunt was kind enough to give me an account of some of the scenes they had to witness, which will convey an idea of what their situation is, and what they have had to undergo.

On the 11th of February, 1840, one of their servants informed them that the king had sent for two dead men from Lauthala, a town or koro not far from Somu-somu. On inquiring the reason, he knew of none but that the king was angry ; this was sufficient to know and in some degree prepared them for what they shortly afterwards had to witness. They now found that their servant was only partly informed, for, instead of two men, they soon observed eleven brought in, and knew that a feast was to take place. Messrs. Hunt and Lythe went to the old king, to urge him to desist from so barbarous and horrid a repast, and warned him that the time would come when he would be punished for it. The king referred them to

his son, but the savage propensities of the latter rendered it impossible to turn him from his barbarous purposes.

On the day of the feast the shutters of their houses were closed, in order to keep out the disgusting smell that would ensue, but Mr. Hunt took his station just within his fence, and witnessed the whole that follows. The victims were dragged along the ground with ropes around their necks, by these merciless cannibals, and laid, as a present to the king, in the front of the missionaries' house, which is directly opposite the king's square, or public place of the town. The cause of the massacre was, that the people of Lauthala had killed a man belonging to the king's koro, who was doing some business for the king; and, notwithstanding the people of Lauthala are related to the king, it was considered an unpardonable offence, and an order was given to attack their town. The party that went for this purpose came upon the unsuspecting village when (according to themselves) they were neither prepared for defence nor flight, or, as they described it to Mr. Hunt, "at the time the cock crows, they open their eyes and raise their heads from sleep, they rushed in upon them, and clubbed them to death," without any regard to rank, age, or sex. All shared the same fate, whether innocent or guilty. A large number were eaten on the spot. No report makes this less than thirty, but others speak of as many as three hundred. Of these it is not my intention to speak, but only of what was done with the eleven presented to the king and spirit.

The utmost order was preserved on this occasion, as at their other feasts, the people approaching the residence of the king with every mark of respect and reverence, at the beat of the drum. When human bodies are to be shared, the king himself makes a speech, as he did on this occasion. In it he presented the dead to his son, and intimated that the gods of Feejee should be propitiated, that they might have rain, &c. The son then rose and publicly accepted the gift, after which the herald pronounced aloud the names of the chiefs who were to have the bodies. The different chiefs take the bodies allotted to them away to their mbures, there to be devoured.

The chief of Lauthala was given to their principal god, whose temple is near the missionaries' house. He was cut up and cooked two or three yards from their fence, and Mr. Hunt stood in his yard and saw the operation. He was much struck with the skill and dispatch with which these practised cannibals performed their work. While it was going on, the old priest was sitting in the door of his temple giving orders, and anxiously looking for his share. All this, Mr. Hunt said, was done with the most perfect insensibility. He could not perceive the least sign of revenge on the part of those who ate them, and only one body was given to the injured party. Some of those who joined in the feast acknowledged that the people of Lauthala were their relations, and he fully believes that they cooked and ate them because they were commanded to do so. The coolness, Mr. Hunt further remarked, with which all this was done, proved to him that there was a total want of feeling and natural affection among them.

After all the parts but the head had been consumed, and the feast was ended, the king's son knocked at the missionaries' door (which was opened by Mr. Hunt), and demanded why their windows were closed? Mr. Hunt told him, to keep out the sight, as well as the smell of the bodies that were cooking. The savage instantly rejoined, in the presence of the missionaries' wives, that if it happened again, he would knock them in the head and eat them.

The missionaries were of opinion, that after these feasts the chiefs became more ferocious, and are often very troublesome. In the present case, they attempted to bring accusations against the missionaries, that they might have a pretext for plundering them, but the only fault they could find to complain of was, that they did not receive presents. The missionaries' conduct was firm and decided, telling them if they desired the property, they must take it by force. This the natives seemed afraid to do, and after they were fully convinced they could not intimidate them, showed a desire to become friends. The missionaries then took them a present, which they were glad to accept, and gave one in return, as a make-peace, since which time they have lived in peace.

On the 10th, I endeavoured to get the chiefs on board the Porpoise to sign the treaty or regulations, which the chiefs of Ambau and Rewa had done. For this purpose I gave them an invitation to come on board; but no inducement could persuade them to place themselves in our power, for fear of a like detention with Vendovi. Finding that they were determined to persist in their refusal to come on board, I asked that a council of chiefs should be held on shore. To this the king agreed, and issued his orders for the meeting. It took place in his house, which is built much after the fashion of an mbure, though of larger dimensions; it had four apertures for doors; the fire-place was in one corner, and part of the house was curtained off with tapa. A large number of junk-bottles were hung from a beam, both for use and to display his wealth, for they are very much valued. The king also possessed a chair, two chests, and several muskets. The former he seemed to take much pleasure in sitting in, having discovered, as he told the interpreter, that they were very comfortable for an old man. We had a full meeting, and I was much struck with the number of fine-looking men who were present. Their complexions were dark, and they resembled one another more than any collection of natives I had before seen in the group.

The two sons of the king were present. Tui Illa-illa, who is the actual king, is held much in awe by the people. The regulations, after a full explanation of their objects, were signed, or rather they made their mark, for the first time, on paper. The old king has always been friendly to the whites, but his son is considered quite unfriendly towards them; and it is thought, by the missionaries, that were it not for the old man, and the fear of punishment by a man-of-war, they would not be safe.

Messrs. Hunt and Lythe acted as interpreters on this occasion, but not until after the one I had chosen was unable to make them understand. This was intentional on my part, for I did not wish



the king and natives to think that the missionaries had had any part in the proceeding; and they did not undertake the office until the king and chiefs desired their assistance. Besides the signing, we had the clapping of hands and thighs, and the three audible *grunts* of satisfaction from the audience. The meeting broke up with a distribution of presents.

The ceremony attending the ava-drinking of the king, at Somu-somu, is peculiar. Early in the morning, the first thing heard is the king's herald, or orator, crying out, in front of his house, "Yango-na ei ava," somewhat like a muezzin in Turkey, though not from the housetop. To this the people answer, from all parts of the koro, "Mama" (prepare ava). The principal men and chiefs immediately assemble together from all quarters, bringing their ava-bowl and ava-root to the mbure, where they seat themselves to talanoa, or to converse on the affairs of the day, while the younger proceed to prepare the ava. Those who prepare the ava are required to have clean and undecayed teeth, and are not allowed to swallow any of the juice, on pain of punishment. As soon as the ava-root is chewed, it is thrown into the ava-bowl, where water is poured on it with great formality. The king's herald, with a peculiar drawling whine, then cries, "Sevu-rui-a-na" (make the offering). After this, a considerable time is spent in straining the ava through cocoa-nut husks; and when this is done the herald repeats, with still more ceremony, his command, "Sevu-rui-a-na." When he has chanted it several times, the other chiefs join him, and they all sing, "Mana endina sendina le." A person is then commanded to get up and take the king his ava, after which the singing again goes on. The orator then invokes their principal god, Tava-Sava, and they repeat the names of their departed friends asking them to watch over and be gracious to them. They then pray for rain, for the life of the king, the arrival of wangara Papalangi (foreign ships), that they may have riches and live to enjoy them. This prayer is followed by a most earnest response, "Mana endina" (amen, amen). They then repeat several times, "Mana endina sendina le." Every time this is repeated they raise their voices, until they reach the highest pitch, and conclude with "O-ya-ye," which they utter in a tone resembling a horrid scream. This screech goes the rounds, being repeated by all the people of the koro, until it reaches its farthest limits, and, when it ceases, the king drinks his ava. All the chiefs clap their hands, with great regularity, while he is drinking, and, after he has finished his ava, the chiefs drink theirs, without any more ceremony. The business of the day is then begun. The people never do anything in the morning before the king has drunk his ava. Even a foreigner will not venture to work or make a noise before that ceremony is over, or during the preparation of it, if he wishes to be on good terms with the king and people.

The surveys under Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold were begun at the south-east island of the Eastern Group, called Ongea. Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold next surveyed the islands of Fulanga, Enkaba, Kambara, Tabanaielli and Namuka, as well as those of Angasa, Ularua, Komo, Motha, and Oneata, arriving off

Lakemba on the 15th; and as the boats were preparing to land, a canoe was seen leaving the beach, having on board the missionary, the Reverend Mr. Calvert, belonging to the Wesleyan Society. Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold and some of the officers returned with him to the island, where they were kindly entertained by him and his lady. Mr. Calvert did not express himself favourably regarding the natives, describing them as cruel and blood-thirsty, and said it was the prevailing custom to destroy all shipwrecked persons. Cannibalism, however, is now extinct on this island.

The king of Lakemba, Tui Neau, was found seated in a large canoe-house, near the landing, with a numerous retinue of almost naked natives about him. He is a corpulent, nasty-looking fellow, and has the unmitigated habits of a savage. He is said to have one hundred wives! He exercises despotic power over all the surrounding islands, has the character of being a cruel tyrant, and lives in the midst of all kinds of excesses. The settlement is dirty and badly built, but has some large houses.

On the 17th they were engaged in exploring the great Argo Reef. Its native name is Bocatatanoa, and it is one of the most extensive and dangerous in the group. Its English name is derived from the loss (on its south-east end) of the English Brig Argo, which happened in the year 1806.

Besides the brig Argo, another vessel, by the name of the Harriet, is said to have been lost here. All hands from one of these vessels were killed, while only a few from the other escaped.

Kendi-kendi, the highest peak of the island of Lakemba, was found to be seven hundred and fourteen feet. The ascent was not difficult, for a regular path led to the highest point. The ruins of a town were found on it, called Tumboa, from which the Tonga chiefs of the family of Tubou Totai are supposed to have derived their name.

At Lakemba there are about fifty resident Christians, nearly all of whom are Tongese, of whom about one-third of the population is composed; and they have literally taken possession of the island, for they never work, but subsist on the labour of the Feejee population, who hold them in much awe. The difference between the two races was as striking here as at Ovalau. Heathenism is fast passing away at Lakemba, and its absurd rites are held in ridicule by most of those who are still considered as heathens. The influence of the priest is diminished, and the temple or mbure has fallen into decay.

Lakemba is the largest island in the eastern group. It is five miles in diameter; its shape is nearly round, with an extensive encircling reef. The town is on the south side, and contains about two-thirds of the population of the island (one thousand people).

The people of this island seemed to be far from healthy; pulmonary diseases were common, and often fatal, and an unsightly scrofulous affection appeared to be quite prevalent.

This island is the principal location of the people I have heretofore described, under the name of Levukians, as the first settlers of Ambau. They live in a village which is denominated Levuka, and have the character, at Lakemba, of being a wandering, faithless

tribe, addicted, occasionally, to piracy. This is not considered the case elsewhere, for the Feejee men, in general, look upon them as a useful class, and through them they carry on the trade between the different islands. It is not surprising that they should bear a bad name among the Tonga men, for I heard that they were the means of checking the depredations of those of that race who now hold possession of the island of Lakemba, and exert a great influence on the south-east islands of this group, which they find essential for their purposes of obtaining war-canoes.

Lakemba was found, like the rest of this group, to be of volcanic formation. The soil is similar to that of Vanua, composed of a dark red loam. The island, in point of fertility, will compare with any of the others, and exceeds all those of the south-east in size and productiveness. It has rich valleys, or rather ravines, gradually rising and contracting until they reach the hills. Extensive groves of cocoa-nuts cover its shores and low lands, and add much to its beauty.

The Porpoise proceeded to the islands of Naiau and Tabutha, both north of Lakemba.

The islands of Aro, Chichia, Mango, Vekai, Katafanga, and the reef of Malevuvu were then visited and surveyed. They are all small and lie to the north of Tabutha.

Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold having understood from Tubou that the reef around Munia enclosed, besides that island, six others, and that there was a wide and safe passage through the reef, determined, on coming up with it, to enter, which he did on its south-east side. The islands, seven in number, were all of considerable size: Vanua-valavo, the largest of them, proved to be of a serpentine shape, and fourteen miles in length; each island had its separate reef around its shore, and the whole were enclosed by a very extensive reef, somewhat of the shape of a triangle, whose sides are twenty-four miles in length. The large island is in no place more than two miles wide; it is situated along the western side of the triangle, and contains many fine bays and safe anchorages. The other islands are called Munia, Susui, Malatta, Ticumbia, and Osubu. To this cluster the name of the Exploring Isles was given.

The chief of the island of Munia had but one eye. He appeared somewhat under the influence of fear, and complained much of his poverty.

The highest peak of Munia is called Telanicolo, the measurement of which, by sympiesometer, gave one thousand and fifty-four feet above the level of the sea. This peak is composed of volcanic masses, with high, craggy, and overhanging cliffs. The ascent proved difficult, for the path passed over steep hills and along the edges of the rocks, and it was in places so narrow that only one person could pass at a time. A few men might defend the ascent against an army. Upon the summit are the ruins of a small village; some of the huts were, however, kept in repair, as refuge in times of danger. The view from the top was beautiful.

The island of Munia contains about eighty inhabitants.

Ticumbia bears a close resemblance to Munia, but is much smaller; the inhabitants are about seventy in number.

Susui lies next to Vanua-valavo, and between it and Munia. It is divided into three parts, of which the easternmost is low, and covered with thick shrubbery and groves of cocoa-nuts; the western portion rises in broken basaltic peaks, several hundred feet high, and is thickly wooded. On this island are several villages, and the number of inhabitants is one hundred and fifty. The ground is much better cultivated than is usual, the patches of taro and yams being kept remarkably neat.

Malatta lies near Susui, and is of smaller size. It is divided from Vanua-valavo by a narrow passage. The southern part of the latter island is called Lomo-lomo; its northern is called Avia. The population of Vanua-valavo is five hundred.

Avia is a small island to the north-east of Vanua-valavo. It has a few natives residing upon it.

These Exploring Islands are well situated for the resort of vessels. The anchorages are very safe and easily reached. They afford an abundance of fruit and vegetables. There are five openings in the large reef, two at the east end, two on the west, and one on the north side; all safe. Vessels wishing to anchor on the western side must enter one of the western passages, as the near approach of Vanua-valavo to the large reef does not admit of a passage for vessels between them.

On the 8th, the Porpoise sailed from the Exploring Isles, and continued the surveys of Okimbo and Naitamba, with the surrounding reefs, both attached and separate. The former is made up of three small isles, enclosed in the same reef, four miles east and west, by three miles north and south, which are seven miles to the north of the north-west point of Vanua-valavo. The detached reefs are from one to four miles in length. Okimbo is desolate.

Naitamba is high and rugged; it is of a circular form, one mile and a half in diameter. It has few inhabitants.

The time having now arrived for our meeting at Somu-somu, Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold bore up for that place, passing through Tasman's Straits, which lie between the islands of Kamia and Vuna. At noon they rounded the north point of Vuna, entering the straits of Somu-somu, and at two o'clock P. M. they reached the anchorage off the town of Somu-somu.

Having finished all my business at Somu-somu on the 10th of June, at ten o'clock at night, we left, and at ten o'clock on the 12th anchored at Levuka, where I found all well.

The Starling had sailed for Rewa with the rudder-pintles of the Peacock, which Lieutenant Underwood had succeeded in getting; and having heard that Captain Belcher was still at Rewa, I determined to visit it, for the double purpose of seeing if we could afford him any further facility, and getting observations for latitude and meridian distance, as well as effecting a comparison with my intensity needles.

At noon we were again under way for Rewa, where we anchored at 9 P. M. I had the pleasure of finding Captain Belcher there.

He was on the eve of sailing, having nearly completed the repairs of his ship, and was making his last series of observations.

The *Starling* had sailed for Mbenga a few days before, whither the *Sulphur* was to go to join her. Captain Belcher sailed the next evening; and the following day the tender was hauled in close to the beach of the island of Nukalau, in order to protect the spot where we were observing throughout the day, and guard against surprise upon us by the chiefs of Rewa, which place was but a few miles from us.

I was not a little amused at Captain Belcher's account of the effect of the regulations as operating upon his vessel. The chiefs required him to pay port-charges, and in default thereof refused to give him any supplies. In drawing up the rules and regulations for the trade, it had never occurred to me to mention men-of-war as being free, feeling assured that they would all very readily give five times the amount of the articles required in presents. But it appears that Captain Belcher did not think proper to make the customary present, and the chiefs refused to allow any supplies to go to his vessel until he should comply with the rules. This incensed the captain, and caused him to take offence at the missionaries, who he supposed prevented the supplies from being sent. I well knew, however, that they were guiltless. He likewise broke out into strong invectives against the chiefs, declaring that it was impossible they could understand the rules, &c., although the whole proceeding showed they were not only conversant with their meaning, but also with the power they had in their hands of compelling the visitor to pay.

Nukalau is a low, sandy island, well covered with wood. On the eastern side it has an extensive coral reef; but the western is clear, and may be approached closely. There is a pool of water on the island, but no one could water a ship there without the risk of causing sickness on board.

In the morning, before daylight, we got under way, on our return to Ovalau, and by 10 A. M. on the 18th, we again anchored at Levuka.

The boats I found had returned from the survey of the islands of Angau, Nairai, and Ambatiki, to the eastward of Ovalau. David Whippy, the Maticum Ambau, had been sent with them as an interpreter, and to hold proper authority over the natives.

The first island which had occupied their attention was Ambatiki. This island is seven hundred and fifty feet high, of a dome shape, and contains five hundred inhabitants, all subject (or ygali) to Ambau. The people were civil, and gave them taro and yams in plenty.

Nairai was the next island visited by them. About a mile to the north is Venemole Bay; it is circular, with a narrow entrance. The bay had the appearance of having been an old crater, and the officers were much struck with its beauty. It contains a village of the same name, and also another, called Tulilai; but both are small. The natives are quite peaceable.

The town of Toaloe lies in a bight at the north end of the island, and is the largest on the island. Here David Whippy, acting as the

"Maticum Ambau," obtained for them all kinds of provisions. Whippy told me that this island held a medium between mbati and ygali to Ambau, being not exactly in that state of servitude that the last would imply, nor yet as free as the first.

Nairai is famous for its manufactures of mats, baskets, &c., a large trade in which is carried on throughout the group by exchanges.

The reef extends from the island four miles northward, and, where it ends, turns for a short distance to the westward. There are a few patches of rock on its western side, but none farther from it than half a mile. This is the reef on which the Flying-Fish struck on entering the group, and where she came near being lost. It does not join the island, but is connected with the Mothea, or Eliza Reef.

The town of Corobamba lies at the bottom of the bay of the same name, and is next in size to Toaloe. The Cobu rock is a singular one. It is inaccessible on three sides, of volcanic formation, and is enclosed by the Mothea Reef, which here spreads to the width of about three miles, and extends about four miles farther south, where it forms a rounded point.

Angau is much larger and higher than either Ambatiki or Nairai. The reef continues round the east side, close to the island. As the south side is approached, the reef extends off several miles.

Some idea may be formed of the fatigues encountered by the boats' crews, from the fact that the men had been at their oars pulling almost constantly for the period of eight days, sleeping in the boats, and seldom allowed to land.

The islands of Wakaia, Mokungai, and Mekundranga contain few inhabitants, and have been the scene of the horrid tragedies often committed by the stronger on the weak tribes of this group. There is a remarkable shelf formed near the centre of the island of Wakaia, which goes by the name of the Chief's or Chieftain's Leap. Near this there is now a small town.

Mokungai fell under the displeasure of the Ambau chiefs, and the whole population was exterminated after a bloody battle on the beach of its little harbour. Some of the whites witnessed this transaction, and bear testimony to the bloody scene, and the cannibal feasting for days after, even on those bodies that were far gone to decay. They are both, as I have before said, under the rule of the chief of Levuka.

Wakaia now contains only about thirty inhabitants, whilst Mokungai has only one or two families.

These islands are in sight from Ovolau, from which they are separated by a strait of ten miles in width. Although several miles apart, they are situated within the same reef.

On the 24th, Tui Levuka had prepared an exhibition of the native club-dance for our entertainment, in which all the chiefs and people of the neighbouring towns were to assist; the preparations required three or four days to complete. The open space in front of the mbure was chosen for the exhibition, and we were placed on the mound formed for the mbure, where we could overlook all the scene. A large crowd of natives were assembled, and when on the eve of expectation, we heard shouts of laughter, caused by the

entrance of a clown, who was most fantastically dressed with green and dried leaves, bound on with vines.

After he had gone through many antics, the club-dancers sallied forth, and their movements were accompanied by a monotonous note from a band of musicians, if such they could be called. The chiefs made a fine appearance in their gala dresses, and used their clubs in a variety of attitudes. The performers amounted to one hundred, and gave us a good idea of their displays on public occasions. The clown, however, kept the audience, including ourselves, in a constant state of laughter, by his mimicry of all the chiefs and their movements. The clubs, at the end of this dance, were presented to me, but I found they were not the same with which they had danced, but that they had dexterously changed them prior to this part of the ceremony.



FELICE CLOWN.

On the 27th, the instruments were all embarked, and the return of the tender enabled me to put to sea in the Vincennes on the 28th of June. Intending to visit the hot springs of Savu-savu on Vanua-levu, we left Levuka in the morning, and stood over towards the end of the Wakaia Reef, with the view of passing round it. It being Sunday, the Rev. Mr. Hunt, who was a passenger on board with me, volunteered to officiate for us, which was gladly accepted. After service, I found that the wind would not permit my weathering the point of the reef; so I bore up to pass through the Mokungai Passage, with a strong breeze. After getting through (which we had some difficulty in doing, in consequence of the strong ebb tide setting to the southward and westward), I stood on towards Direction or Nemena Island, intending, as the wind was becoming light, to enter through the narrow passage in the reef, and anchor under it, rather than remain surrounded by reefs during the night.

The next day completed my observations, and finished the survey of Nemena or Direction Isle. In the afternoon we got under way, and stood over to the northward of Savu-savu on the island of Vanua-levu. The wind was quite light when we passed out of the reef, on the opposite side to that where we had entered it. I had previously sent two boats to examine the passage, and anchor in the deepest water. We approached the passage with a light air, having all sail set, but had very little headway. The water was perfectly clear, and the rocks and fish, with the bottom and keel of

the ship, were plainly visible. When we got in the passage, the officer in the boat told me the keel looked as if it was in contact with the coral; the lead, however, gave three fathoms, one and a half foot to spare. It was a little exciting for twenty minutes, but we did not touch. If we had, the ship, in all probability would have been a wreck; for as the tide was falling, she would have hung on the coral shelf, and been but partly supported by it. This is the great danger attendant on the navigation of this group, as indeed of all coral islands.

We were becalmed during the whole night; and the next morning, finding the calm still continued, I took to my boat, directing Lieutenant Carr to steer in for the bay, when he got a breeze, supposing it would set in at the ordinary time, eleven o'clock. I landed on a small islet, about six miles from the place where I left the ship, and near the mouth of the bay. To reach the islet we pulled in over the reef, which had on it about four feet of water. The islet was composed of scoriaceous lava, much worn, and about twelve feet above the coral shelf. Here I established myself, and was busy securing my observations, when I discovered that my boat was aground, and that the tide was still falling. The islet as well as the reef became dry. It was not long before we observed the shadow of natives projecting from a rock, about fifty yards from us, who it now appeared were watching us closely; and not long after not less than fifty shadows were seen in different directions. I at once ordered all the arms and ammunition to be brought up on the top, and made our situation as defensible as possible, for I had little doubt if they saw that we were unprepared, they would attack us. The firing of one or two guns, and the show that we were all on our guard, at once caused a change in their intentions towards us, which they manifested by bringing articles of trade.

In the afternoon we again got under way, and proceeded farther up the bay, anchoring off Waicama, or the hot-springs, in twenty-eight fathoms water. The bay of Savu-savu is a fine sheet of deep water, ten miles in length, east and west, by five miles in breadth, from north to south; it is surrounded by very high and broken land, rising in many places into lofty needle-shaped peaks; it is protected by the extensive reef reaching from Savu-savu Point on the east, to Kombelau on the west, excepting a large opening of about a mile in width, two miles distant from Savu-savu Point. On anchoring, I dispatched two boats, under Lieutenants Case and Underwood, to join the surveys we had made in the tender, as far as Rativa Island; they departed the same evening on this duty. The projection of land forming Savu-savu Point is much lower than that on the other sides of the bay.

I visited the hot springs, which are situated opposite a small island, round which a narrow arm of the bay passes, forming a small harbour; a considerable stream of fresh water enters the bay, about a mile above the situation of the springs. On landing, we found the beach absolutely steaming, and warm water oozing through the sand and gravel; in some places it was too hot to be borne by the feet.



The hot springs are five in number; they are situated at some distance from the beach, and are nine feet above the level of high water; they occupy a basin forty feet in diameter, about half-way between the base of the hill and the beach. A small brook of fresh water, three feet wide, by two deep, passes so close to the basin, that one hand may be put into a scalding spring, and the other in water of the temperature of 75°. That of the spring stands at 200° to 210°. The waters join below, and the united stream stands at 145°, which diminishes in temperature until they enter the sea. In the lower part of the bed of the united stream, excavations have been made, where the natives bathe. The rock in the neighbourhood is compact coral and volcanic breccia, although it is nowhere to be seen exposed within a third of a mile of the spring. The ground about the spring is a deep brown and black mould, covered with coarse native grass, (a species of *Scirpus*,) which is thickly matted. There is no smell of sulphur, except when the head is brought as close as possible to the water; but it has a strong saline taste. No gas appeared to be disengaged. The basin is in a mixture of blue and brown clay, and little grass grows in it.

These springs are used by the natives to boil their food, which is done by putting the taro of yams into the spring, and covering them up with leaves and grass. Although the water scarcely had any appearance of boiling before, rapid ebullition ensues. It gurgles up to a height of eight or ten inches, with the same noise as is made by a cauldron when over the fire. Taro, yams, &c., that were put in, were well done in about fifteen minutes. The mouths of the springs are from eighteen inches to two feet in diameter, and have apparently been excavated by the natives for their own purposes. The account they give of them is, that they have always been in the same state since the spirit first took up his abode there. They are convinced that he still resides there, and the natives say that one spring is kept pure for him, which they do not use.

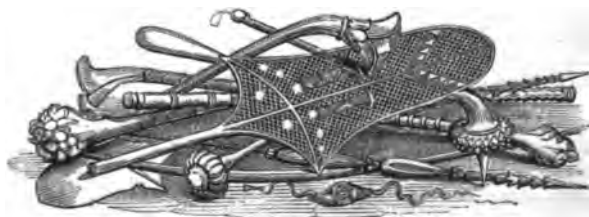
On the 3rd of July the tender came in and anchored, having succeeded in accomplishing the survey of both the island of Goro and Horseshoe Reef. The former is considered by the natives one of the most fruitful islands of the group; it is a high island, though not so much broken as the others, and, from appearance, would be susceptible of cultivation to its very top. The island is nine and a half miles long, by four miles wide. The produce of Goro is oil and tortoise-shell, and exceeds in quantity that of any other island of the group; its population is two thousand.

The Horseshoe Reef lies between Goro, Nairai, and Wakaia; it is an extremely dangerous one. The name is derived from its shape, and its opening is on the north side; it is even with the water, which after stormy weather may be seen breaking on it, from the heights of Ovolau; it is one mile in diameter; there are no other dangers nearer to it than the north reef of Nairai.

The bay of Savu-savu may be known by a remarkable saddle-shaped peak, lying just behind it; there are several other high peaks, that show the interior to be very rugged and high. Some of these peaks reach the altitude of four thousand feet.

At daylight on the 5th, the Vincennes got under way to proceed to Mbua or Sandalwood Bay, which we reached at half past 3 p.m. The Peacock had just arrived from the north side of Vanua-levu, and anchored.

Mbua or Sandalwood Bay, though much filled with large reefs, offers ample space for anchorage. The bay is of the figure of a large segment of a circle, six miles in diameter, and is formed by Lecumba Point on the east and that of Dimba-dimba on the west. The land immediately surrounding it is low, but a few miles back it rises in high and picturesque peaks. That of Corobato is distinguished from the Vitilevu shore, and has an altitude of two thousand feet. The shores of the bay are lined with mangroves, and have, generally, extensive mud-flats. Several small streams enter the bay in its upper part, flowing from some distance in the interior. This was the principal place where the sandal-wood was formerly obtained, but it has for some years past been exhausted. I shall defer speaking of this district until I have given an account of the operations of the Peacock.



FEEJEE ARMS.

## CHAPTER VII.

## THE FEEJEE GROUP—CONCLUDED.

Peacock at Vatulele—Island of Malaki—Sandalwood Bay—Dimba-Dimba Point—Naloe Bay—Town of Muthuata—Peacock joins the Vincennes in Mbua Bay—State of the Surveys—Capture of the First Cutter by the Natives in Sualib Bay—Measures taken in Consequence—Attack on the Town of Tye, its Destruction—Remarks thereon—Release of Prisoners—Fresh Surveys Made—Anganga Island—The Porpoise joins the Tender and Boats—Boats Rejoin—Melancholy News—Murder at Malolo of Lieutenant Underwood and Midshipman Henry—History of the Massacre—Burial of the Slain—Preparations for an Attack on Malolo—Arro Burnt—Submission of the Chiefs and People—Reflections thereon—Preparations for leaving the Feejee Group.

ON the 26th of May, the Peacock was off Vatulele. Leaving Mbenga to the north, Kantavu on the south, and passing through the sea of Kantavu, to the south-west side of Vatulele, they entered an opening in the reef off the west end of Vitilevu, after sunset, anchoring on the inside of the reef of Navula. This is the limit of the king of Rewa's authority.

On the morning of the 27th they coasted along the land inside of the reef. The shores of Vitilevu are here low; but the land within a short distance rises to the height of one thousand feet, and has a brown and barren appearance. It is destitute of trees, except on the low points along the shores, which are covered with mangrove (*Rhizophora*) and cocoa-nut groves.

Towards sunset, the vessel ran upon a coral lump, which gave her a considerable jar; but they very soon hauled off and anchored for the night.

In the evening, partly as a signal for the absent boats that were appointed to meet the ship here, and partly for effect on the natives, they fired an evening gun, burned a blue light, and set off three rockets, or, as the natives term them, "fiery spirits." These brought forth many shouts from the land, which were audibly heard on board, although the vessel was at a great distance from the shore. These signals were soon answered by a rocket from the boats, which joined the ship early the next morning, all well.

The Peacock began beating up for the purpose of reaching the Malaki Islands, in order to take a departure from Mbua Bay.

On the 2nd of June they reached and landed on the island of Malaki, which is a high islet, divided from the large island by a narrow strait, near which is the town of Rake-rake, which is also subject to Ambau.

Malaki has the appearance of having once been well cultivated.

This island is eight hundred feet high, and on the top are the remains of a fortification of stone, whose walls are four feet high, surrounded by a moat several feet deep and ten feet wide.

On the 8th of June they arrived at Mbua or Sandalwood Bay.

In the afternoon of the 10th they anchored the ship off the northern point of Mbua Bay. This point is called Dimba-dimba, and is considered by the natives as sacred ground; it is kept strictly from any kind of disturbance, for it is supposed to be inhabited by the spirits of the departed, and to be the place where they embark for the regions of Ndengei. It is a most beautiful spot, and in strong contrast with the surrounding country, which is in many places devoid of trees, while here they flourish as nature has planted them.

On the 12th, Capt. Eagleston, of the *Leonidas*, came on board, and piloted them to Nalua Bay.

In the vicinity of Nalua Bay, is Dillon's Rock, one of the remarkable places in the Feejee Group, where Capt. Dillon protected himself from the savages, and through his presence of mind escaped their cannibal inclination.

On the 17th of June the *Peacock* left the bay of Nalua, in company with the *Leonidas*; and on the afternoon of the 19th anchored off the town of Muthuata.

The town of Muthuata consists of about one hundred houses, built closely together, and is situated in an open valley close to high-water mark. It is very much exposed, and quite defenceless; has but few trees about it, but is one of the best built towns in the Feejees. The style of building resembles that of Rewa. The king's name is Ndrandranda; his title, Tui Muthuata. He is old and quite infirm, the result of an attack of elephantiasis in one of his legs, which renders it difficult for him to walk.

Tui Muthuata has from eighty to one hundred towns under his control; and his territory extends from Unda Point to the island of Tavea, in Nalua Bay. Many of these towns are of small extent, and contain but few inhabitants; and I found that to estimate the population by the report of the chiefs themselves would give erroneous results. Feejee men lie with great plausibility, and particularly if it is to swell their own importance.

On the 5th the *Peacock* returned to Mbua Bay, about an hour before the *Vincennes* reached it, all well and in good spirits.

Upon the junction of the *Peacock* with the *Vincennes* in Mbua Bay, I had it in my power to examine and collate all the work that we had thus far accomplished. After doing this I found that so much yet remained to be done before a thorough survey of the Feejee Group could be completed, that I must either leave this important duty unfinished, or devote more time to it than had originally been contemplated. I deemed this to be among the most important of the objects of the Expedition; and considering that the seas around these islands abound in dangers whose position had up to this time been entirely unknown, I resolved not only to complete the surveys, but not to leave the group until I had entirely satisfied myself of the accuracy of the work.

In furtherance of the last object, I set all who had been employed

in the service to work in plotting and calculating their surveys, while the features of the region were yet fresh in their memories.

For a few days, at this time, every one was employed who could work, in repairing the boats, preparatory to the further examination which I contemplated making on the hourly expected arrival of the Porpoise.

On the afternoon of the 12th Lieutenant Perry arrived in the launch, bringing with him Mr. Knox and the crew of the first cutter. That boat had been captured by the natives, at Sualib Bay, about twenty-five miles to windward, on the same island. In this bay the launch and first cutter had taken refuge during the bad weather, although it offers indifferent accommodation. After being there two or three days, they attempted to beat out, when the cutter, in trying to go about, near the reef, missed stays, and was thrown on it. At the time this occurred it was low water. The natives, who, it was supposed by the party, had anticipated the accident, had followed along the reef, and, as soon as it happened, crowded down, all well armed with clubs, spears, stones, &c. Mr. Knox, finding it impossible to get the boat off, thought of looking into his means of defence, and found himself completely in the power of the natives, for all his arms and ammunition were soaked with salt water. Lieutenant Perry, finding that the launch could not make head-way against the wind and sea, had anchored at long gun-shot from the spot where the cutter had gone on shore. As soon as he saw what was going forward, he opened a fire on the natives, but without effect; for they, notwithstanding, collected around Mr. Knox's party, and gave them to understand that they must abandon the boat and go on board the launch. Having no choice left, he took out all the arms and the chronometers, and, keeping the natives at bay, by pointing the guns at them and threats of killing them, the crew reached the launch in safety. The natives took possession of the first cutter, dragged her over the reef, and stripped her of everything. They then appeared to be eagerly watching the launch, at which they occasionally fired their muskets, with which they are better provided on this island than elsewhere. They did not prove good marksmen, however, for they did no damage.

Two natives, from another part of the shore, now swam off to the launch, with offers of assistance to Lieutenant Perry; but he supposed that this was done to spy out his weakness, and learn how to take advantage of it. He therefore at once seized and retained them. They proved to be a great chief and an inferior one. After he had obtained possession of these men, the natives on shore gave him no further trouble, but remained lurking about the mangroves.

The next morning the weather having moderated, he was enabled to get out of the bay, and reached the ship at the above date.

Immediately on receiving the report, I ordered the two prisoners to be put into irons, and the schooner and eight boats, four from each ship, to be ready for service at sunset. Twenty additional men and officers were put on board the tender. Captain Hudson and myself both accompanied the party, which left the ships at the

appointed time. Our first rendezvous was about twelve miles from the ship, and it was my intention to reach Sualib by daylight the next morning.

The cutter, we found, on our arrival at Sualib Bay, had been drawn up to a considerable distance, and the tide being low, there was a wide mud-flat between her and the place where we lay at anchor, through which a small tortuous creek led up to her.

The natives of the two towns on each side of the bay, one called Tye, and the other Sualib, seemed both to be active in preparing to give us a warm reception. Our interpreter gave me reason to expect that we should not get the boat without a sharp fight, and that she would be perhaps destroyed by fire before we should be able to save her. As it would, in all probability, have been attended with loss of life to make the attempt at low water, I determined to await until the tide rose, and in the mean time to attempt to procure her restoration by negotiation. I therefore sent Whippy and Tom to hold a parley, and to state to the natives, that if they restored the boat and everything belonging to her, I would, for this time, forgive them.

My conditions not being complied with, I determined to make an example of these natives, and to show them that they could no longer hope to commit acts of this description without receiving punishment.

We moved on for this purpose in an imposing array, keeping ourselves well prepared for an attack, to which we were necessarily exposed on our approach. A very few men could have done us much mischief, had they been tolerable marksmen, and stood their ground.

To approach the village we had to pass between long lines of mangrove bushes, and I was assured by Whippy, who had been before on a war-party with a formidable force against these natives, and been beaten off, that we should have something more than a mere show of resistance to encounter. Under this expectation we proceeded forward; but all was silent, and no impediment was offered to our course.

When near the beach the boats were anchored, and the officers and men jumped overboard, and waded in about two feet water to the shore. Everything was conducted with the most perfect order; the three divisions landed; Captain Hudson, with two, proceeded to burn and destroy the town, and the third remained on the beach as a reserve to protect the boats, for I was apprehensive that an attack might be made on them by those on the other side of the bay, a great many of whom were visible, armed, and apparently ready for a fight. The precaution I had taken to let them know, through Whippy, that I held their chiefs as hostages, and that their safety depended upon the good conduct of the townspeople, I felt was some security, but I had made up my mind not to trust the natives in any way. I therefore kept a large force under my own charge to repel any attack on the boats, and act as a reserve, should it become necessary.

The town was soon fired, but the anxiety of some of the sailors to make a blaze, induced them to fire one or two of the thick thatched roofs to windward, while the rest of the party had gone to begin the work of destruction to leeward. The whole village was in consequence soon wrapped in sheets of flame, and many of the men were exposed to danger on their return, from the intense heat of the burning buildings. So close was the resemblance of the noise made by the bursting of the bamboo canes (of which material the houses are for the most part built), to a running fire of musketry, that every one believed that a general fight was taking place in the parts distant and opposite to him.

About an hour sufficed to reduce the whole to ashes, leaving the village a heap of smoking ruins. We then returned to our boats in the same good order in which we landed.

The town of Tye contained about sixty dwellings, built of bamboo, besides a number of yam-houses, wherein they had gathered their crops. The upper and outer yams were well roasted, but the heat from the light material was of short duration, so that few in reality were lost. Another small collection of yam-houses, about a quarter of a mile distant, was also burnt.

Few things were found in the town, for the natives had removed all the articles that could be carried away. Three or four weeks of labour would, therefore, suffice to rebuild their houses, and restore them to the same state as before the burning.

There was no opposition made to this attack ; all the Feejee men had retired out of gun-shot, and were only now and then seen from behind the bushes, or on some craggy peak on the sides of the neighbouring hills, from which they were occasionally dislodged by our rockets. This firework produced consternation, and dispersed them in every direction. As the boats were pulling off from the shore, a few balls fell near us, but did no damage.

The infliction of this punishment I deemed necessary ; it was efficiently and promptly done, and, without the sacrifice of any lives, taught these savages a salutary lesson.

In the first cutter was private and public property to the value of above one thousand dollars, which was all lost.

The conduct of the officers and men on this occasion showed a promptness and energy that were highly creditable, and gave me the assurance that they were as much to be depended upon in dangers of this description, as I had hitherto found them in others.

The next day, having become satisfied that the Sualib chiefs who had been detained by Lieutenant Perry had really meant to act a friendly part, I determined, for the purpose of making the contrast as strong as possible between those who had offered aid and those who had stolen the cutter, to reward the former for their good intentions.

The next morning all hands were called on deck, and the prisoners brought to the gangway in irons, expecting that their time was now come, and exhibiting great fear, both in their countenances and trembling limbs. Through David Whippy, I then told them, that although appearances were at first against them, I had satisfied

myself that they intended to act a friendly part in assisting the launch, and as they had taken no share in the robbery and capture of the boat, and the people of their town had done nothing to molest us, instead of punishing them, I should reward them with presents, and send them back safely to their town. The joy that was depicted on their countenances at this change, can readily be imagined. Their irons were then removed, and the presents given.

After thanking the officers and men for their good conduct in this affair, we piped down, and our several occupations were resumed.

On the 16th of July, the tender and boats being prepared, I ordered the following officers upon an expedition:—Assistant Surgeon Fox, Acting Master Sinclair, Passed Midshipman Eld, and Mr. Agate, to accompany me in the tender; Lieutenant Alden and Midshipman Henry in the first, and Lieutenant Underwood in the second cutter of the Vincennes; Lieutenant Emmons and Midshipman Clark in the first cutter of the Peacock. The boats being fully manned and armed, left the vessels in the afternoon for the island of Anganga.

Orders were left with Captain Hudson to re-survey the bay of Mbua, including the outlying reef, and after having completed this duty, to proceed with the Peacock round to Muthuata, and then return for the Vincennes. It was my intention to circumnavigate the whole group of islands, carrying meridian distances from island to island, and likewise to complete and connect by triangulation all the parts that required further examination. I proposed to return to Muthuata by the north and east side of Vanua-levu.

Having satisfied myself with observations on Lakemba Point, I set out in the tender at 8 o'clock, P.M., in order to join the boats early the next morning at Anganga Island, about thirty miles from Mbua Bay. At 6, A.M., we anchored near the west end of Anganga Island, where the boats soon after joined us. Anganga Island is high, and very much broken; it is not inhabited, and offers nothing but turtles in the season.

At noon I was rejoiced to discover the Porpoise in sight. She had been looked for during some days, and I could not but feel anxious, knowing the dangers with which the service I had sent her on was surrounded. On her coming up, I ordered signal to be made for her to anchor near us, and in the afternoon we joined company; afterwards, she was ordered to get under way, and follow our motions.

Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold had surveyed all the rest of the Eastern Group; the islands and reefs resemble those already described.

On the 17th, in company with the Porpoise and boats, we passed over to Yendua Island; after finishing the survey of it, we stood over for Round Island, the most northern of the Asaua or Western Group. At Ya-asaua we had intercourse with the natives of that island, and found them almost in a state of destitution in consequence of an attack that had been made upon them by the notorious Gingi, a warlike chief from Vanua-levu, he having



destroyed all their plantations, which obliged them to seek sustenance by digging the *yaka*, a native root.

We continued our surveys of the Asaua Group, consisting of the islands of Ya-assua, Androna, Yangata, Naviti, Eld, Fox, Agate, Sinclair, Waia, Waia-lailai, Vomo, Hudson's Isle, including Malolo and Underwood Group. These islands, excepting the latter group, are all high, and broken into many volcanic peaks, forming many picturesque islands. They are inhabited by a very wild set, who are even looked upon with great dread by the rest of the group, from the frequent excursions they make upon the larger islands, and only bring down occasional retaliations by some bold and war-like chief, as in the case above-mentioned.

Linthicum Island, one of Underwood Group, I occupied as a principal and last station, on the 24th, towards five o'clock in the afternoon.

While I was congratulating myself that I had now finished the survey, and that my meridian distances and latitudes were all complete, it was reported to me that the three boats were in sight, coming down before the breeze. So unusual an occurrence at once made me suspect that some accident had occurred; and on the first sight I got of them, I found that their colours were half-mast and union down. I need not describe the dread that came over me. We reached the tender only a few moments before them, and when they arrived, I learned that a horrid massacre had but a short hour before taken place, and saw the mutilated and bleeding bodies of Lieutenant Joseph A. Underwood and my nephew, Midshipman Wilkes Henry.

The boats were taken in tow, when we stood for Malolo, and as the night closed in, anchored in its eastern bay.

It would not be easy to describe my feelings at this time; the melancholy event of which I became aware in its full extent by the return of the boats under Lieutenant Alden, took place just as—after weeks of intense anxiety for the safety of those under my command, exposed in open boats to the perils of the sea, and in small detachments to the insidious attacks of savages, instigated not merely by cupidity, but by the horrible instincts of cannibal appetites—I had myself closed the operations of the survey, and awaited only my junction with the boats to be satisfied that all our perils were at an end. One of the victims was my own near relation, confided to my care by a widowed mother; I had therefore more than the ordinary degree of sorrow, which the loss of promising and efficient officers must cause in the breast of every commander, to oppress me.

It was beyond everything else important, that in the desire of inflicting punishment, I should avoid, as far as possible, the risk of losing other valuable lives. The two chief vessels of my squadron were at a distance, and I knew that the natives of Malolo were not only guarded in their towns by fortifications, impregnable in their own mode of warfare, but were furnished with firearms and ammunition. To burn the dwellings of these fastnesses, as I had done at Tye, if an adequate punishment for mere thefts, would have

been no sufficient penalty for the present heinous offence, nor would it have served to deter the people of Malolo from similar acts for the future.

My first duty was to receive the report of the officer in command of the boats, and to make such further inquiry into the circumstances of the transaction, as should satisfy me that the bloody deed had not been provoked on the part of the victims. The results of this inquiry were as follow.

On the 22nd of July, the first cutter of the Vincennes, Lieutenant Alden and Midshipman Henry, and the Leopard, Lieutenant Underwood, left the station at Eld Island, and proceeded along the right side of Waia, for the purpose of fulfilling my orders to survey the small islands lying north of Malolo. This done, they had instructions to join the tender, or Porpoise, on the western side of that island, and survey such islands as they might fall in with on the way. After passing Waia, the boats anchored for the night under one of the small islands.

The next day they were employed in the survey of the small islands, and in the evening anchored in the bay on the east side of Malolo, formed by it and Malolo-lai-lai, or Little Malolo.

On reaching this place, Lieutenant Alden, being desirous of ascertaining if the Porpoise was at the anchorage on the west side, directed Lieutenant Underwood to land near the south end of Malolo, and to ascend a small eminence to get a view of the anchorage. Lieutenant Alden, it appears, cautioned Lieutenant Underwood to go well armed, and to be on his guard with the natives, as on his former visit, about six weeks before, he had been led to doubt their friendly disposition, and, in consequence, had avoided having any communication with them. He also directed Lieutenant Underwood to return before sunset.

Lieutenant Underwood landed, and went up the hill with one of his men. After a few minutes, Lieutenant Alden observed some suspicious movements among the natives near the point, and, in consequence, hoisted a signal of recall. Lieutenant Underwood was soon seen returning to the boat with his man and a native. Before leaving the beach, he had some talk with the natives.

On joining Lieutenant Alden, he reported that there was no vessel in sight, and mentioned that on his way up the hill, he suddenly came upon a native carrying an armful of clubs, who, the moment he perceived him, threw down his load and attempted flight, but Lieutenant Underwood detained and made him go before them to the boat. When they reached the beach, a party of natives joined, and appeared to him much disconcerted at finding the lad a prisoner, and without arms.

They passed the night at anchor in this bay, and on the morning of the 24th, discovered the tender at anchor to the eastward. At nine o'clock Lieutenant Emmons joined them in the Peacock's first cutter, having passed the night at one of the small sand-islands in the neighbourhood. Lieutenant Emmons found them waiting breakfast for him. They anticipated that he had some more

provisions for them, as he had recently parted with the tender, and hoped to procure some yams, pigs, &c., from him, or from the tender herself, which would in all probability reach Malolo during the day.

When Lieutenant Emmons arrived, several of the natives, some of whom were armed, were on the beach, where the boat's crew had cooked their breakfast.

Many inducements were offered to them for pigs, yams, &c., with very little success, each offering some excuse, and urging the necessity of the boats going to their town for such things.

Just after they had finished their breakfast, the chief spokesman of the village came, wading out near the boats, and invited them, in the name of the chief, to their town, where he said the chief had secured four large hogs as a present for them.

It appears that Lieutenant Underwood now volunteered to go to the town for provisions, taking with him John Sac (the New Zealander heretofore mentioned) as interpreter, from Lieutenant Alden's boat. He, in consequence, shoved off, leaving the other boat to follow him as soon as the tide would allow it to cross the reef between the islands. Lieutenant Emmons then pushed his boat for the shore, and landed, with three armed men, on Malolo-lai-lai, in order to obtain some angles from the top of a hill. On his approaching the beach, the natives waded off to his boat, but he ordered them off, and directed the officer with him, Midshipman Clark, to keep his boat afloat, and not suffer them to approach her during his absence. This order was strictly attended to, although a similar attempt was again made, the natives when ordered off retired as before.

Lieutenant Underwood's boat drew too much water to get across the reef, and grounded, upon which a number of natives collected around her, and joining with the boat's crew, assisted to drag her over the reef. At this time the natives got a knowledge of the feebleness of the armament of Lieutenant Underwood's boat. To my surprise I have since learned that Lieutenant Underwood had left the greater part of the armament with which he had been furnished on board the brig some few days before. Seven rifles had been put on board that vessel, under the idea that it would lighten the boat, and no more than three out of the ten he took with him from the Vincennes remained.

On landing they found no more than two pigs, tied to a tree, for sale, instead of the four they had been promised as presents. These the natives declined selling until the chief, who was out upon the reef, fishing, should return. A messenger was sent for him, and he soon made his appearance, but conducted himself haughtily, and refused to part with his hogs except for a musket, powder and ball, which being against orders was refused.

Lieutenant Alden entertained some uneasiness at the number of natives that had crowded around the Leopard, and proceeded to join her, but was detained near the reef about twenty minutes before the tide would allow the boat to pass over, the first cutter drawing more water than the Leopard. On entering the bay, he found the Leopard

at anchor about two thousand feet from the shore, in just sufficient water to enable his boat to get alongside. He was informed by the boat's crew that Lieutenant Underwood had gone on shore, leaving a hostage in the *Leopard*, whom Lieutenant Alden immediately took into his own boat. Lieutenant Underwood was accompanied to the shore by J. Clark, armed with a rifle and sheath-knife; J. Dunnock and J. M'Kean, armed with cutlasses; William Leicester, who had the trade-box, unarmed; John Sac, interpreter, unarmed; Jerome Davis and Robert Furman, unarmed. The rest of his men remained in the boat, armed with cutlasses and two rifles.

Lieutenant Underwood was now seen on the beach, endeavouring to trade with a party of about fifteen natives, whence he sent off Robert Furman, a coloured boy, to Lieutenant Alden, to say that the natives would not trade, except for powder, shot, and muskets. Furman was sent back by Lieutenant Alden, to say that he would not consent to any such exchange while the schooner was within reach; that they could be supplied by her, and that he must hurry off, as he thought he had been long enough absent (having remained on shore about an hour) to purchase all they required, if the natives were disposed to trade.

After this, Midshipman Henry asked, and Lieutenant Alden gave him permission to land in the canoe, and come off with Lieutenant Underwood. A few moments after a small canoe came alongside Lieutenant Alden's boat, and exchanged some words with the hostage, who displayed a little anxiety to return with them to the shore. As the canoe shoved off, he attempted to leave the boat, when Lieutenant Alden took him by the arm and directed him to sit down, giving him to understand that he must keep quiet. Lieutenant Emmons now joined, and the *Leopard* was ordered to drop in as near to the party on shore as possible. The tide had by this time risen sufficiently to allow her to go most of the way on the reef. After another half hour had expired, Jerome Davis, one of the boat's crew, came off with a message from Lieutenant Underwood, that with another hatchet he could purchase all he required.

The hatchet was given to Davis, who was directed to say to Lieutenant Underwood that Lieutenant Alden desired to see him without delay, and that he should come off as soon as possible with what he had.

While Lieutenant Alden was relating the circumstances of the hostage's desire to escape to Lieutenant Emmons, from the starboard side of the boat, the hostage jumped overboard from the larboard quarter, and made for the shore, in two and a half feet water, looking over his shoulder, so as to dodge at the flash, if fired at. He took a direction different from that of the party on the beach, to divide the attention of those in the boats. Lieutenant Alden immediately levelled his musket at the hostage, who slackened his pace for a moment, and then continued to retreat. Midshipman Clark, who was ready to fire, was directed to fire over his head, which did not stop him.

J. Clark testifies that Lieutenant Underwood, M'Kean, and him-

self, were standing near the beach, waiting the return of Davis, when they saw the chief escape from the boat, and heard the report of the musket. The old chief, who was standing near, immediately cried out that his son was killed, and ordered the natives to make fight. Upon this two of them seized upon Clark's rifle, and tried to take it from him. One of these he stabbed in the breast with his sheath-knife; the other Mr. Underwood struck on the head with the butt-end of his pistol, upon which both relinquished their hold. Lieutenant Underwood then ordered the men to keep close together, and they endeavoured to make their way to the boat, facing the natives. Lieutenant Underwood also called upon Midshipman Henry to assist in covering the retreat of the men to the boats, to which Mr. Henry replied, that he had just received a blow from the club of a native, and would first have a crack at him. He then pursued the native a few steps, and cut him down with his bowie-knife pistol, and had again reached the water's edge, when he was struck with a short club on the back of the head, just as he fired his pistol and shot a native. The blow stunned him, and he fell with his face in the water, when he was instantly surrounded by the natives, who stripped him. The natives now rushed out from the mangrove-bushes in great numbers, some of them endeavouring to get between Lieutenant Underwood and the water, while others crowded upon his party, throwing their short-handled clubs and using their spears. Lieutenant Underwood, having received a spear-wound, fired, and ordered the men to do the same; and after he had fired his second pistol, was knocked down by the blow of a club. Clark at the same time was struck, and had no further recollection.

J. Dunnock says that he was at some distance from Lieutenant Underwood at the time the attack was made; and the first intimation he had of it, was Lieutenant Underwood's order to keep together and go down to the boat. While obeying the order, he saw the natives seize upon Clark's rifle, and strike Lieutenant Underwood; but after this he had as much as he could do to avoid the clubs and spears hurled at himself. He says that Mr. Henry was near him, and up to his knees in water, when he received the blow from the short club which knocked him down lifeless, with his face in the water. He did not see the hostage escape, nor hear the gun fired.

M'Kean states that he was standing by the side of Lieutenant Underwood at the time they were awaiting the return of Davis; that suddenly there was a movement among the natives, and the cause of it was discovered to be the escape of the hostage. Mr. Underwood, anticipating trouble, immediately ordered the men to assemble and make for the boat.

John Sac's story corroborates that of M'Kean. He says, that upon hearing the gun, and seeing the hostage escaping, the chief cried out that his son was killed, and gave the war-cry.

On seeing the attack, Lieutenant Emmons and Alden pushed for the shore, with both boats. The former had already started to endeavour to retake the hostage. The boats commenced firing, as they sailed in, on some natives who appeared to be wading out to

meet them. As soon as the boats took the bottom, all jumped out except two boat-keepers, and waded in, occasionally firing at the natives, who now retreated, carrying off their dead and wounded, and soon disappeared among the mangrove bushes.

Before reaching the beach, J. G. Clark was met, badly wounded, and was taken at once to the boats. On the beach lay Lieutenant Underwood, partly stripped, and Midshipman Henry, quite naked, with a native close by the latter, badly wounded, who was at once dispatched.

The party, picking up the bodies, bore them to the boats. On the first inspection, some faint hopes were entertained that Midshipman Henry was not dead; but a second examination dissipated this idea.

The boats now hauled off, and made sail to join the tender, where they had seen her in the morning at anchor.

Every attention was paid to the wounded and dead by the officers that affection and regard could dictate; and I could not but feel a melancholy satisfaction in having it in my power to pay them the last sad duties, and that their bodies had been rescued from the shambles of these odious cannibals. Yet, when I thought that even the grave might not be held sacred from their hellish appetites, I felt much concern relative to the disposition of the bodies. I thought of committing them to the open sea; but one of the secluded sand-islands we had passed the day before occurred to me as a place far enough removed from these condor-eyed savages to permit them to be entombed in the earth, without risk of exhumation, although there was no doubt that our movements were closely watched from the highest peaks. On consultation with the officers, they concurred with my views on this point.

There being no doubt, from the reports of all parties present, that this outrage was entirely unprovoked, I had no hesitation in determining to inflict the punishment it merited, and this, not by the burning of the town alone, but in the blood of the plotters and actors in the massacre.

The two first cutters of the Vincennes and Peacock were therefore directed to take up stations to prevent the escape of any persons from the island, and before daylight Passed Midshipman Eld was dispatched on the same service with the Leopard.

The tender got under way at the same time, and proceeded towards the spot I had chosen for the place of burial.

The sun rose clearly, and nothing could look more beautiful and peaceful than did the little group of islands, as we passed them in succession on our melancholy errand. At the last and largest, about ten miles from Malolo, we came to an anchor. Dr. Fox and Mr. Agate went on shore to select a place, and dig a common grave for both the victims. At about nine o'clock they came off, and reported to me that all was ready. The bodies were now placed in my gig, side by side, wrapped in their country's flag, and I pulled on shore, followed by Mr. Sinclair and the officers in the tender's boat.

Only twenty sailors, (all dressed in white,) with myself and

officers, landed to pay this last mark of affection and respect to those who had gone through so many toils and shared so many dangers with us, and of whom we had been so suddenly bereaved. The quiet of the scene, the solemnity of the occasion, and the smallness of the number who assisted, were all calculated to produce an unbroken silence. The bodies were quietly taken up, and borne along to the centre of the island, where stood a grove of Ficus trees, whose limbs were entwined in all directions by running vines. It was a lonely and suitable spot that had been chosen, in a shade so dense that scarce a ray of the sun could penetrate it.

The grave was dug deep in the pure white sand, and sufficiently wide for the two corpses. Mr. Agate read the funeral service so calmly, and yet with such feeling, that none who were present will forget the impression of that sad half hour. After the bodies had been closed in, three volleys were fired over the grave. We then used every precaution to erase all marks that might indicate where these unfortunate gentlemen were interred. I felt as if to refrain from marking the spot were they were laid, deprived us of one of the consolations that alleviate the loss of a relative and friend, but was relieved when it occurred to me to fix a more enduring mark on that place, by naming the island after my nephew, "Henry," and the pretty cluster of which it forms one, "Underwood Group."

Places remote from the grave were now more disturbed by footsteps and digging than the grave itself, and our tracks were obliterated from the sand, leaves being thrown about to obscure all indications that might lead the wary savage to the resting-place of the dead.

We wandered about the beach a short time, after which we embarked and weighed our anchor to return to Malolo. Shortly after we discovered the Porpoise entering the Malolo Passage, with whom we soon joined company and anchored again in the bay on the east side of Malolo before dark.

Preparations were now actively commenced to punish the actors in this foul deed; the arms were prepared, and the parties duly organised in the course of the night.

Upon the island of Malolo there are two towns, Sualib and Arro. The former was on the south-west side, and the residence of the principal actors in the massacre. Upon this I intended to inflict the heaviest blow. The latter, whose inhabitants had also taken a part in the tragedy, and whose unprovoked hostility had been exhibited by their firing upon the boats from the mangrove-bushes, I determined to burn to the ground. It was also necessary to be prepared upon the water to prevent any attempt at escape, or the more desperate effort to capture the vessels, necessarily left under a feeble guard. The two latter objects were connected, and for this purpose I kept under my own immediate command, my gig, the first cutters of the Vincennes and Peacock, under Lieutenants Alden and Emmons, and the tender's boat, under Midshipman Clark.

The party which was to land and attack Sualib, was placed under the orders of Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold. It was composed of seventy officers and men, of the crews of the Porpoise and tender,

with a few men from the boats, and was arranged in three divisions, under Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold himself, Lieutenants Johnson and Maury. To the party were also attached Lieutenant North, Passed Midshipmen Sinclair and Eld, with Assistant-Surgeon Holmes and Mr. Agate.

The party had orders after landing to move upon Sualib, destroying all the plantations they should meet on their way, sparing none except women and children. They were then to march across the island to Arro, and join me for the purpose of re-embarking. Acting-Master Totten, who was too unwell to assist in active operations on shore, was left in charge of the brig, with such of the crew as were on the sick list, and had orders to prevent the natives escaping across the channel to Malolo-lai-lai.

Nine o'clock in the morning was the hour appointed for landing Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold's force, which was effected in good order, and the party being arranged in its three divisions, marched off. Before the disembarkation was effected, two natives endeavoured to pass over to Malolo-lai-lai, but a well-directed shot from Mr. Totten compelled them to return.

As soon as Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold's party had moved off, two canoes were seen turning the point of Malo-lai-lai. I gave immediate orders to chase and intercept them, when, if they were from any other island, they were to be directed to return on their course, but if belonging to Malolo, they were to be captured. All the boats pulled out, and Lieutenant Emmons, who took the lead, succeeded in cutting them off from the shore. Through Oahu Sam, his interpreter, he found that they belonged to Malolo, and the men in Lieutenant Emmons's boat were so much excited that they at once fired several muskets into the canoes, by which some of the persons in them were struck; the rest immediately jumped overboard, and swam in various directions. By this time I had approached near enough to order the firing to cease, and quarter to be given. The swimmers were then picked up. Among them were found one of the chiefs of Arro, the town we were about to attack, with a woman, a girl, and an infant. I directed the three last to be set on shore and liberated, telling them we did not war against women and children. The men I sent on board the brig, to be put in irons, and had the canoes towed alongside of her.

As soon as we reached the town of Arro, perceiving no natives to oppose us, I despatched Lieutenant Emmons to pull towards the approaching canoes and intercept them, while with the rest of the boats' crews the town of Arro was burnt. In doing this we met with no hindrance, for although the place was large, evidently populous, and well fortified with a ditch or fence, it was found deserted. Many of the male inhabitants, as I afterward learned, had gone to Sualib, to aid in the defence of that town, while others had accompanied the women and children, with all their moveable property, to the mountains.

Having completed the destruction of Arro, I proceeded in the gig towards the north-west point of the island, for the purpose of joining Lieutenant Emmons, on rounding which, I observed the



smoke of the burning of Sualib. As I pulled around the island, I saw many of the natives on the highest peaks, whither they had retreated for safety, and others upon the beach, who, on seeing the boat, fled towards the mountains. In pursuit of these, the "fiery spirits" were frequently sent, to their great alarm. When I had proceeded far enough to get a view of the bay in front of Sualib, neither boat nor canoes were in sight, and I turned back, to rejoin the other boats off Arro.

On reaching them, Lieutenant Alden reported that he had executed the orders, and had, at high water, towed off or destroyed all the canoes. During my absence, an old man had ventured down to the beach, with two others in his company, and made signs that he wished to speak with them. They held a parley with him, through the interpreter, and learned that he was the chief of Arro. He told them that he was houseless, had lost his property, his son, and many of his people; he declared that his village had nothing to do with the killing of the Papalangis, and offering pigs, &c., as presents, begged that we would not punish him any further.

Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold, with his party, reached Arro just at sunset. His three divisions were separated immediately after they landed, in order to cover more space, and more effectually to destroy the plantations. The division under Lieutenant Maury was the first to approach Sualib. As soon as the natives got sight of it, they set up shouts of defiance. No signs of fear were exhibited, but, on the contrary, every proof of a determination to resist.

Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold in a short time came up with his division, and on examining the defences of the town, thought it expedient to await the arrival of Lieutenant Johnson. Upon the latter officer coming up, which was shortly after, the three parties descended the hill, and approached the ditch of the town. The natives boldly sallied out to meet them, with a discharge of arrows, and exhibited the utmost confidence. They, in truth, believed their town to be impregnable, for it had hitherto withstood every attack made by Feejee warriors. Its defences evinced no little skill in engineering: a ditch twelve feet wide and full of mud and water, surrounded the whole; next came a strong palisade, built of coco-nut trunks, placed four or five feet apart, among which was here and there a living tree; this palisade was united by a fence of wicker-work, about ten feet high, so strong and dense as to defy all attempts to penetrate or even see through it; inside of the palisade was a second ditch, recently excavated, the earth thrown up from which formed a parapet about four feet in thickness, and as many in height. In the ditch the defenders sheltered themselves, and only exposed their heads when they rose to shoot through the loopholes left in the palisade. As the whole party continued to approach the fortification, our men spread out so as to outflank the skirmishers, and by a few rockets and a shower of balls showed them that they had different enemies from Feejee men to deal with. This compelled them to retire within the fortification, and abandon all on its outside to destruction. When the skirmishers had retired into the fortress,

all united in loud shouts of *lako-mai* (come on!) flourishing their spears and clubs.

Our party having approached within about seventy feet of the stockade, opened its fire on the fortification. Now was seen, what many of those present had not before believed, the expertness with which these people dodge a shot at the flash of a gun. Those who were the most incredulous before, were now satisfied that they could do this effectually.

For about fifteen minutes an obstinate resistance was kept up with musketry and arrows. In this the women and children were as actively engaged as the men, and all made a prodigious clamour. After the above time the noise diminished, the defence slackened, and many were seen to make their escape from a gate which was intentionally left unattacked, carrying the dead and wounded on their backs. A rocket, of which several had already been tried without visible effect, now struck one of the thatched roofs; a native sprung up to tear it off, but that moment was his last, and the roof immediately burst into flames. Upon this Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold recalled several officers who were desirous of storming the town through its small gate, an attempt which, even if successful, must have been attended with loss of life on our part, and which the success of the rocket practice rendered unnecessary. To force the gate would have been a difficult operation, had it been defended with the least pertinacity, for it was constructed in the manner of a fish-weir. The natives, as has been seen, had, in addition to their arrows, clubs, spears, and muskets; but the latter were so unskilfully handled as to do little damage, for they, as I had before been informed was their practice, put charges into them according to the size of the person they intended to shoot at. They believe that it requires a larger load to kill a large man than it does a small one. The bows and arrows were for the most part used by the women.

The moment the flames were found to be spreading, a scene of confusion ensued that baffles description. The shouts of men were intermingled with the cries and shrieks of the women and children, the roaring of the fire, the bursting of the bamboos, and an occasional volley of musketry.

The heat became so intense that Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold drew off the divisions to a cocoa-nut grove in the neighbourhood, where he waited until the conflagration should have exhausted its fury. After the lapse of an hour, the whole town was reduced to ashes, and a few of the officers and men were able, although with difficulty, to enter within its ditch. It was evident that large quantities of water and provisions (pigs, &c.) had been stored up, in the anticipation of a long siege. Numerous clubs, spears, bows, and arrows, with several muskets, were picked up, together with fish-nets, *tapa*, &c., and the cap of Lieutenant Underwood. Only four bodies were found, among whom was that of a child, which had been seen during the conflagration, apparently deserted, and in a state of danger, from which our men would gladly have relieved it, had it been possible.

Our party sustained but little injury. Only one man was struck by a ball, which, however, did no other harm than to tear his jacket. Several were wounded by arrows, but only Samuel Stretch, quarter-gunner, so severely as to cause any solicitude.

After the destruction of the town, the third division, under Lieutenant Maury, was ordered to return to the brig, along the beach of the western side of the island. This route was chosen for the sake of the wounded man, who was unable to travel over the hills. The first and second divisions marched across the island to the town of Arro. The officers describe the scenes that lay before them, when they had reached the highest part of the ground that lay in their route, as extremely beautiful. In the valley below them, and on the declivities of the hills, were to be seen yam and taro-patches kept in the neatest order, with the small yam-house (lololo) in the midst, surrounded by groves of tall cocoa-trees, and plantations of bananas. All looked quiet and peaceful, in strong contrast to the exciting contest in which they had just been engaged, and the character of the ruthless and murderous race who had been the occupants of the smiling valley.

Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold, with these divisions, reached the beach of Arro at sunset, when a part of the men were embarked in the canoes and boats. Lieutenant Alden was at once dispatched round the island in the cutter, for the purpose of rendering assistance to Lieutenant Maury, but he arrived too late to be of service.

While these transactions were taking place on the island, the water also became the scene of a conflict. Lieutenant Emmons, who had been dispatched to intercept the five canoes, reported to be seen from the ridge, pulled round the island without discovering them. While making this circuit, he fell in with the party under Lieutenant North, and took the wounded man into the boat, leaving one of his eight in his place. He then pulled to the brig, where he refreshed his men, and in the afternoon proceeded round Malolo-lai-lai to search for the canoes, supposing they might have escaped and been drawn up in the mangrove-bushes. He soon, however, discovered the enemy poling along on the outer reef towards Malolo-lai-lai. They were somewhat separated when first seen, but as he approached, the weathermost made sail to leeward to join their companions, and when they had accomplished this, all struck their sails and advanced to attack him, manœuvring together. In each canoe there were about eight warriors, having a kind of breast-work to protect them from the shot, while Lieutenant Emmons's boat's crew consisted only of seven. After a short but severe contest, only one of the canoes escaped; the others were all captured, together with their warriors. Lieutenant Emmons reached the brig, with three of his prizes, a little before midnight.

Shortly after daylight, a few natives were seen on the beach opposite the tender. I had been hoping throughout the night that some overture would be made, and at once took my gig, with the interpreter, and pulled for them. As we approached the edge of the reef, which was now bare, it being low water, all the men retired,

leaving a young native woman standing, with the different articles near her belonging to Lieutenant Underwood and Midshipman Henry. She held a white cock in her arms, which she was desirous of my accepting; but, believing it be an emblem of peace with this people, (which I found afterwards was the case,) I refused it, but took the other articles. I declined the pacific offering, because I had no idea of making peace with them until it should be sued for after their own fashion. I had obtained a sufficient knowledge of their manners and customs to know that it was usual for them, when defeated, and at the mercy of their enemies, to beg pardon, and sue for mercy, before the whole of the attacking party, in order that all might be witnesses. I also knew that they never acknowledged themselves conquered unless this was done, and would construe my failing to require it of them into an admission that I had not succeeded in overcoming them. Many messages were, indeed, delivered to me by this girl from the chiefs, expressive of their sorrow for having attacked and killed our little chiefs; but, in Feejee language, this amounted to nothing; and I was determined to receive from them a formal acknowledgment of defeat, according to their own mode, before I made peace with them, however anxious I was to avoid any more bloodshed. I therefore sent the chiefs and people a message, that they must come and beg pardon and sue for mercy, before all our warriors, on a hill that I pointed out, on the south end of the island, saying that I should land there in a little while to receive them, and that if they did not come, they must be responsible for the consequences.

At about eight o'clock I went on board the Porpoise, where I had in confinement a chief of Arro and some of his followers, in order that the fears of the people of the island might not induce them to neglect the opportunity of asking for peace, and knowing that this chief would have great influence in bringing about the result I desired. I had an interview with him in the cabin. The first question I put to him startled him not a little; it was whether he could trust his life in the hands of any of his people that were on board with him; for it was my intention to send a messenger from among those natives on board to the chiefs and people of the island, and if he did not execute it and return at the appointed time, I should shoot him. His eyes grew very large, he hesitated, and then spoke very quickly. At last he said, "Yes;" but that he would like the two younger boys to be sent, as they were the best and most trustworthy. My object was now fully explained to him; and after he thoroughly understood the penalty both to himself and the people of the island, he entered warmly into my views, as he perceived that by so doing he would at once regain his own liberty, and save his island from further devastation.

The boys, who were respectively about fifteen and seventeen years of age, were then called into the cabin. I took two reeds, and repeated, through the interpreter, the messages, which the chief took great pains to make them understand. They were to this effect: that the whole of the natives of the island should come to me by the time the sun was overhead, to beg pardon and sue for mercy;

and that if they did not do so, they must expect to be exterminated. This being fully understood by the boys, they were landed, the chief having previously assured them that his life depended on their good conduct and haste in executing their charge.

Everything was now prepared, agreeably to the orders of the night before, and the whole force was landed; but instead of moving on to make farther devastation and destruction, we ascended the eastern knoll. This is covered with a beautiful copse of *Casuarina* trees, resembling somewhat the pines of our own country. Here we took our station, and remained from about ten in the morning till four o'clock in the afternoon.

The day was perfectly serene, and the island, which, but a few hours before, had been one of the loveliest spots in creation, was now entirely laid waste, showing the place of the massacre, the ruined town, and the devastated plantations. The eye wandered over the dreary waste to the beautiful expanse of waters beyond and around, with the long lines of white sparkling reefs, until it rested, far in the distance, on the small green spot where we had performed the last rites to our murdered companions. A gentle breeze, which was blowing through the *Casuarina* trees, gave out the moaning sound that is uttered by the pines of our own country, producing a feeling of depression inseparable from the occasion, and bringing vividly to my thoughts the sad impression which this melancholy and dreadful occurrence would bring upon those who were far away.

Towards four o'clock, the sound of distant wailings was heard, which gradually drew nearer and nearer. At the same time, the natives were seen passing over the hills towards us, giving an effect to the whole scene which will be long borne in my memory. They at length reached the foot of the hill, but would come no further, until assured that their petition would be received. On receiving this assurance, they wound upward, and in a short time about forty men appeared, crouching on their hands and knees, and occasionally stopping to utter piteous moans and wailings. When within thirty feet of us, they stopped, and an old man, their leader, in the most piteous manner, begged pardon, supplicating forgiveness, and pledging that they would never do the like again to a white man. He said, that they acknowledged themselves conquered, and that the island belonged to us; that they were our slaves, and would do whatever I desired; that they had lost everything; that the two great chiefs of the island, and all their best warriors, had been killed, all their provisions destroyed, and their houses burned. They acknowledged a loss of fifty-seven killed. Whether the twenty-five that were opposed to Lieutenant Emmons were included in this number, I know not, but I am rather inclined to believe that they were; for accounts subsequently received give the same number. They declared that they were now convinced that they never could make war against the white men (*Papalangis*); and that they had brought two of the chief's daughters as a present for the great chief. During the whole time that the old man was speaking, they all remained bent down, with their heads to the ground.

I asked them many questions, and, among others, what had induced them to murder the little chiefs. They acknowledged that the officers had done them no harm, and confessed that they had been killed without the slightest cause. They stated that all the murderers were slain, and that the act was planned and executed by the people of Sualib, none of whom were then present, or could be found; and said that the persons present were the only ones uninjured. Some of the officers believed that they recognised several of them as having been in the fight. I then, through the interpreter, dwelt upon the atrocity of their crime, and pointed out to them how justly we were offended with them, and how much they deserved the punishment they had received. I told them that they might consider themselves fortunate that we did not exterminate them; and further assured them, that if ever a like act was committed, or any aggression on the whites again took place, the most terrible punishment would await them; that we did not wish to do them any harm, but came among them as friends, and wished to be treated as such; that they must now see the folly of opposing us, as they had lost their best warriors, while we had not lost one; that we never fought against women or children and never received any gifts or presents; that I granted them pardon, but they must do as I was about to direct them.

I then told them, that to-morrow, very early, they must all come to the town of Arro unarmed, and bring back every article they had taken from the officers, with what provisions they could gather, and that they would be employed to bring water for the vessels. This was according to their customs, that the conquered should do work for the victors.

They readily assented to all these demands, but said that many of the articles belonging to the little chiefs must have been destroyed by fire, and that they knew not where to obtain them, or where to find anything to eat. I knew that the last assertion was false, as I had seen many plantations on the north-west side of the island which had not suffered, and remained untouched. I therefore told them they must comply with all they had been ordered to do.

They were then dismissed, and instantly vanished from before us. Orders were now given to embark, and we reached the vessels at sunset.

I had great reason to be satisfied with the result of this day's proceedings; for I felt, that after administering to the savages a very severe punishment, I had probably effected the desirable end of preventing any further bloodshed.

Early on the morning of the 28th, the tender and brig got under way, and anchored off the town of Arro, where the natives, to the number of seventy, came down to the beach, with every appearance of humility, to carry into effect the terms we had made with them. The water-bags and breakers were given to them to fill and bring to the beach for the boats. They found this very hard work, and often expressed themselves to the interpreters, who were with the officers attending to the duty, that it would have been as

well for them to have been killed in battle as to die of hard work. They toiled thus until nearly sunset, and procured about three thousand gallons of water for us. They also brought twelve good-sized pigs for the crews, some yams, and about three thousand cocoa-nuts.

Among the articles restored, was the silver watch of Lieutenant Underwood, almost entirely melted up, and a piece of the eye-glass of Midshipman Henry.

When I went on shore, I saw the chief and about twenty of the old men, who were not able to take part in the work. I had a long talk with them, through the interpreter, and explained to them that they had brought this trouble upon themselves. I pointed out, particularly, that the blow had fallen upon the town of Arro, as well as upon that of Sualib, because its inhabitants had fired at the boats from the mangrove-bushes, which was wrong; and if it occurred again, or they ever molested the Papalangis, they would meet with exemplary punishment. They all listened with great attention, and said it should never occur again; and that when any Papalangis came to their island they would do everything for them, and treat them as friends and children.

At evening, I had the chief who was our prisoner brought up and liberated. He had now, from the death of the one at Sualib, become the highest chief of the island. I gave him good advice, and assured him, that if he allowed any white man to be injured, he would sooner or later be punished. He promised me, that as long as he lived they should always be treated as friends and children; that he would be the first to befriend them; that he now considered the island as belonging to the Papalangis; that he had noted all that I had said; that it was good, and he would be very careful to observe it; that he would, if he had no canoe, swim off to the white people's ships to do them all the service in his power; and that his people should do so also. He was then, with the natives who had been captured, put on shore. When they landed, the whole population were heard crying and wailing over him at his return.

The above are all the important facts relative to this tragical affair, both to the natives and ourselves. I feel little disposed to cast blame anywhere, but it must be apparent that if the precautions directed in the orders given for the conduct of the officers on boat duty had been adhered to, this misfortune would not have occurred. It is therefore to be regretted, that a strict regard had not been paid to these orders, and that care and watchfulness to preserve and keep all on their guard had not been constantly manifested. It is difficult to imagine how some of the officers should, in spite of all warnings, have indulged an over-confidence in the peaceable disposition and good intentions of the natives; and it is still more surprising that this should have been the case with Lieutenant Alden, who had charge of the party for the time being, and who had frequently expressed himself satisfied, and had also warned others, that the natives of Malolo were not to be trusted. This opinion

was not adopted by him without good grounds ; for on his former visit, about six weeks before, they had shown a disposition to cut off the launch and first cutter, of which he was then in charge. There was no absolute necessity for obtaining provisions, and still less for his allowing Lieutenant Underwood to remain an hour and a half on shore, chaffering for two or three pigs, when they knew the tender was in sight, and that she would reach the place of rendezvous before night.

The whole of this afflicting tragedy I cannot but believe grew out of a want of proper care and watchfulness over the hostage, after he had shown a disposition to escape, and a heedlessness that it is impossible to look at without astonishment. The hostage certainly would never have attempted to escape, had there been a proper guard kept over him while in the boat ; and from the evidence of all those who were on shore, it appears certain that no disturbance took place until the escape was made.

I am well aware, that all the officers and men present were not at the time satisfied with the punishment inflicted. Many of them even thought that all in any way concerned in the murder ought to have been put to death.

But I felt then as I do now, that the punishment was sufficient and effectual, while it was accompanied, as far as it could be, with mercy. Some, no doubt, will look upon it as unnecessarily severe ; but if they duly considered the wanton murders that have been committed on the whites in this group of islands, merely to gratify the desire of plunder or the horrid appetite for cannibal repasts, they would scarcely think the punishment too severe.

The warriors of this island were looked upon as a nest of pirates even by the rest of the group, and had their great crime been suffered to go unpunished, would in all probability have become more fearless and daring than ever.

The blow I inflicted not only required to be done promptly and effectually, as a punishment for the murder of my officers, but was richly deserved for other outrages. It could not have fallen upon any place where it would have produced as much effect, in impressing the whole group with a full sense of our power and determination to punish such aggressions.

Such has been its effect on the people of Malolo, that they have since been found the most civil, harmless, and well-disposed natives of the group.

The reunion of the several vessels of the squadron did not give rise to the feeling of pleasure which had attended such meetings on other occasions. A deep gloom on the contrary was spread over the minds of all by the melancholy fate of their comrades, who had been the victims of the butchery at Malolo. In honour of their memories a funeral sermon was preached on the 10th of August, by the chaplain, before the assembled officers and crews. It was likewise voted at a meeting of the officers, that a monument be erected at Mount Auburn, to the memory of Lieutenant J. A. Underwood and Midshipman Wilkes Henry. It was subsequently determined that the names of Passed Midshipman J. W. E. Reid



and Frederick A. Bacon, who were lost in the *Sea-Gull*, be also inscribed on the cenotaph. This determination has been carried into effect, and the monument now stands near the entrance-gate at Mount Auburn.

On the 10th of August, in the afternoon, the squadron beat down to Mali, and all the necessary preparations were made for going to sea the next day.

On taking our final departure from these islands, all of us felt great pleasure ; Vendovi alone manifested his feeling by shedding tears at the last view of his native land.



FEEJEE DRUMMER.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## HAWAIIAN GROUP, OR SANDWICH ISLANDS.

The Squadron parts company—Passage of the Vincennes to the Island of Oahu—M'Kean's Island—Hull's Island—Enderby's Island—Arrival at Oahu—General appearance of Oahu—Dress of the Inhabitants of Honolulu—General appearance of the Town—Arrival of the Peacock and Porpoise at Oahu—Vatoa, or Turtle Island—Plans for the future operations of the Squadron—Expiration of the Men's Time—Reshipment of Seamen—Duties assigned to the several Vessels—Interview with King Kamehameha III.—Dress of Kekauluohi—Visit to the King—His gentlemanly bearing—His Conversation—Saturday in Honolulu—Demure Character of the Hawaiian Boys—Cruise of the Tender to Kauai—Island of Kauai—Port of Waimea—Island of Niibau.



**XACTLY** as we departed from the Feejee Group, signal was made to the Porpoise to part company, and the tender was dispatched to run along the sea-reef as far as Round Island, before shaping her course for Oahu in the Sandwich Islands.

All the necessary arrangements with Captain Hudson being complete by this time, I determined that the vessels should part company. Our passage to Oahu, I thought, would probably be expedited by this course, a matter of some importance, in consequence of the low state of our stock of provisions. By pursuing separate tracks, there would, moreover, I conceived, be a better opportunity of searching for some doubtful islands, and of obtaining information in relation to the cur-

rents and winds. The vessels therefore parted company on the evening of the 14th of August.

On the 19th, we made an island in the neighbourhood of the position assigned to Kemins' or Gardner's Island. This is a low coral island, having a shallow lagoon in the centre, into which there is no navigable passage; but the reef on the western side is so low

that the tide can flow into the lagoon. Believing this to be the island discovered by Captain Gardner, I have retained his name.

At ten on the morning of the 19th, breakers were discovered from the mast-head, and by noon a small island was seen, to which I gave the name of the man who first saw it—M'Kean's Island. In the afternoon boats were dispatched to survey it.

M'Kean's Island is composed of coral sand and blocks, and is three-fourths of a mile long, by half a mile wide. It rises twenty-five feet above the level of the sea, and has upon it no vegetation except a scanty growth of coarse grass. It lies about north-north-east sixty miles from that of Kemins.

On the 26th we made land, which proved to be a lagoon island, about sixty miles to the westward of the position of Sydney Island. This island was not found on any chart; I therefore called it Hull's Island, in honour of that distinguished officer of our navy. It has no doubt been frequently taken for Sydney Island.

We next saw Enderby's Island. It is a coral island, with a dry lagoon, three miles long, by two and a half wide. The southern end is the widest, and on it are two clumps of stunted shrubs and plants, consisting of *Cordia*, *Tournefortia*, *Portulaca*, *Boerhaavia*, &c. The northern end is almost bare of vegetation, with the exception of a small running vine (*Convolvulus maritimus*).

On the 23rd of September we made the island of Oahu, and by four o'clock we saw the town of Honolulu, which is very conspicuous from the sea, and has more the appearance of a civilised land, with its churches and spires, than any other island in Polynesia.

On the morning of the 24th we came to anchor in the roads, and found the tender had arrived a few days before us, all well.

The appearance of Oahu is by no means inviting; it has a greater resemblance to the desert coast of Peru than any other of the Polynesian islands we had visited, and has as little appearance of cultivation. The country would be termed, at first sight, barren and rocky. The land in places is very much broken, and rises into high ridges, here and there divided by deep and narrow ravines, with little vegetation, except on the mountain ranges. From the published descriptions of the Hawaiian Islands, I was prepared to see them, and particularly Oahu, a perfect garden. I was inclined to impute my disappointment to our approach being made on its lee side, which is unusual; but I regret to say that any side of it, when seen from the sea, is very far from having an inviting appearance.

On landing, a great uproar prevailed, and groups presented themselves to view, so motley that it would be difficult to describe their dress or appearance. There are, indeed, few places where so great a diversity in dress and language exists as at Honolulu. The majority were in well-worn European clothing, put on in the most fanciful manner; but, upon the whole, I should say that the crowd were scantily covered, some being half dressed, many shirtless, none fully clothed, and numbers of them with nothing on but the maro. I had been led to expect a greater appearance of civilisation. The women were all clad in long loose garments, like bathing-dresses, and many

of them were sporting in the water as if it had been their native element. Some of these natives wore the simple tapa, thrown over their shoulders, which gave them a much more respectable appearance than those who were clothed in cast-off garments.

Everything is earth-colour, with the exception of a few green blinds. The streets, if so they may be called, have no regularity as to width, and are ankle-deep in light dust and sand. Little pains are taken to keep them clean from offal; and, in some places, offensive sink-holes strike the senses, in which are seen wallowing some old and corpulent hogs. One of these, which was pointed out to us as belonging to the king, was tabooed, and consequently a privileged personage. The walk on shore, however, after so long a confinement to the ship, was agreeable.

On the 30th of September, the Peacock reached Oahu, all well. On parting company with the Vincennes, Captain Hudson passed over the position assigned to a reef, by Captain Swain, in longitude 176° 56' W., latitude 9° 55' S., without seeing anything of it, and continuing to the northward, crossed the line on the 27th of August.

The Porpoise arrived at Oahu on the 8th of October, all well. She had visited the Samoan Group, and Vatoa, or Turtle Island, which was found to be three miles long, by one and a quarter mile wide. The reef extends all around the island, and is from one and a half to two miles wide. The island contains about fifty inhabitants, who have native missionaries, and are Christians.

We met with a warm reception at the Hawaiian Islands. The governor, Kekuanaoa, kindly placed at my disposal the large stone house belonging to Kekauluohi, in the square where the tomb in which the royal family are interred is situated. The tomb was at that time undergoing some repairs. The state coffins, which are richly ornamented with scarlet and gold cloth, and in two of which the bodies of the late king, Liho-liho, and his wife were brought from England, in the frigate Blonde, were deposited in the house I was to occupy. The governor had them at once removed to the tomb, and in two days I was comfortably established, and engaged in putting up my instruments, and getting ready to carry on our shore duties.

It will now be necessary for me to enter into some particulars relative to the future operations of the squadron, in order to show the difficulties that had to be encountered at this part of the cruise. Before reaching Oahu, I was convinced that it would be altogether too late to attempt anything on the north-west coast of America this year, and to winter there would have rendered us liable to contract diseases to which the men would have been too prone, after the hard service they had seen in the tropics; besides, I was averse to passing our time in comparative inactivity, and I wished to make the most of the force that had been intrusted to my charge. As my instructions had not contemplated such an event, I was left to my own judgment and resources, to choose the course which would prove the most beneficial to our commerce, and to science; I had also to take into account what we could accomplish in some other direction, prior to the end of April, when the season would become

favourable for our operations on the north-west coast, and in the Columbia River.

On our way from the Feejees, various hints were thrown out that the times of the crew had expired, and that they would not reshipe. I understood their disposition, however, and had little apprehension of their being led astray by those who were disposed to create difficulties among them. Their time, in their opinion, would expire on the 1st of November; in my mind this construction was at least doubtful, the wording of the articles being, that "they shipped for three years from the 1st of November, 1837, to return with the vessels to a port of safety in the United States." The latter clause certainly contemplated the possibility of the expiration of the time prior to their return, and therefore the engagement was not limited to three years; nor did it allow of my discharging any of them by paying them off in full, or of my crippling or retarding the duties of the Expedition. Many of the men spoke very sensibly on the subject, and expressed a desire to finish the cruise, which they would be glad to do by reshipping, a course by which they would become entitled to one-fourth more pay; others, again, seemed desirous of producing discord, in which they were encouraged by the imprudent language of a few of the officers, whether with the intention of producing discontent, I know not. This indiscretion, however, was promptly arrested on its becoming known to me.

As I was obliged to make a deviation from the original cruise pointed out in my instructions, which would extend its duration, I thought it but just that new articles should be opened; and in order that all should be placed on an equal footing, I included the crew of the Porpoise, as well as all those who had joined the squadron previous to our last southern cruise. A large majority of the crew re-entered for eighteen months, on doing which they received three months' pay and a week's liberty. The few who declined, told me, that it was not from any dislike they had to the ship or service, but having families at home, they wished to avoid a longer separation from them. About fifteen of them took passage in vessels that were bound to the United States.

The character of sailors was oddly exhibited on this occasion; the man who, before arriving, had protested most strenuously that he would not reshipe, was the first to place his name on the roll, as I had predicted he would be; their conduct caused much amusement, and showed how little sailors know their own minds. Captain Hudson addressed his crew, confidently expecting that every man would volunteer to reshipe, and on his desiring all to pass to the other side who did not wish to reshipe, the whole crew passed over; yet within eight-and-forty hours they had all re-entered, with the exception of three or four, who held out for a time, to show, as they said, their independence.

It now became necessary to supply the places of those who had left the squadron, and thus to complete our effective complement. Instead, however, of resorting to picking up the worthless, dissipated, and worn-out vagabonds of all nations, who have been wandering

from island to island for years, without any object or employment, I concluded to take a number of Kanakas, and enter them upon such terms that I could at any moment discharge them.

The authorities of Oahu were applied to through our consul, and readily agreed to the men being employed, provided they were returned to the island agreeably to their own laws. Articles of agreement were consequently entered into to this effect, by which I bound the government of the United States to return them after their services were no longer needed; and a stipulation was made that the rations of spirits should not be drawn by them. I was thus assured of having at least sober men. Word was sent to the different parts of the island for those who were disposed to enter, to assemble on a given day at the fort, under the authority of the governor. Upwards of five hundred men assembled in consequence, out of whom Captain Hudson and myself chose about fifty, all able-bodied and active young men, in perfect health. It was highly necessary for the service I was engaged in, to enlist these men for a time.

I was now enabled to complete my plans of operation, and every exertion was made forthwith to put the vessels in condition for service, half of the crews being retained on board to proceed with the outfit, while the rest were on liberty.

The services on which I proposed to employ the vessels of the squadron, were as follows, viz.:—

Captain Hudson, in the *Peacock*, accompanied by the tender, was to be instructed to return to the Samoan Group, and re-examine the surveys made by the *Flying-Fish* and boats, of the south side of Upolu, in which I had detected oversights, and suspected neglect; to seek for several small and doubtful islands, said to be under the equator, and to visit the little-known groups of Ellice and Kingamill; to inquire into the fate of Captain Dowsett, commanding an American schooner engaged in the whale-fishery at the Pescadores; and to seek redress for the capture of the American brig *Waverley*, owned by Messrs. Pierce & Co., of Oahu, at Strong's Island.

Having, by the arrival of the *Porpoise*, learned the news of the murder of Gideon Smith at Upolu, I included in my orders to Captain Hudson, the duty of investigating the circumstances of the crime, and punishing the offenders. He was likewise instructed to seek for the magnetic equator in longitude 160° W., and to follow it down to the westward. These duties accomplished, I directed him, after visiting Ascension Island, to join me at the Columbia River, towards the end of the coming month of April.

These instructions covered a wide field, which had, as far as I could learn, been but little explored, and which our whaling fleet is continually traversing. To examine it could not fail to be highly useful to those engaged in that important branch of industry.

I designed to employ the *Porpoise* in a more close examination of some islands in the Paumotu Group or Low Archipelago, which it had not been in my power to accomplish during our visit of the previous year. She was also to leave a party, with the boring apparatus, upon one of the islands, as soon as she reached the group,

to remain there for about six weeks, or so long as the vessel was engaged in the examination of the other islands. This examination being completed, Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold was directed to touch at Tahiti, and thence, after surveying Penrhyn and Flatt's Island, to return to Oahu before the 1st of April.

With the Vincennes, it was my intention to proceed to Hawaii, there to ascend to the top of Mauna Loa; to make the pendulum observations on the summit and at the base of that mountain; to examine the craters and late eruptions; and after performing these duties, if time allowed, to proceed to the Marquesas Islands, and thence to pass along the magnetic equator to the meridian of the Hawaiian Islands, whither it was my intention to return before the 1st of April, to meet the Porpoise, and proceed, in company with her, to the North-west Coast. I deemed the time from the 25th of November would be amply sufficient, with proper attention, to enable us to perform these duties, and also afford sufficient relaxation to the officers and men, from their long confinement on board ship.

The tender was overhauled in a few days, when Passed Midshipman Knox was again put in charge of her, and the naturalists sent on an excursion to Kauai. After their return, I again dispatched those who were attached to the Peacock in her to Hawaii, being desirous that they should have an opportunity of visiting as much of these islands as possible.

The king, Kamehameha III., who had given orders that he should be sent for as soon as the Vincennes arrived, reached Honolulu on the 29th of September, from Maui. The next day I waited upon him, accompanied by our consul, Mr. Brinsmade, and by many of the officers and naturalists, at his quarters near the fort. A soldier dressed in a scarlet uniform stood on guard at the door. We were ushered into the audience-chamber, and presented to the king, whom we found seated in the midst of his retinue. The apartment was composed of two large rooms with low ceilings, communicating by folding doors. On the right of the king was Kekauluohi, a daughter of Kamehameha I., who acted as prime minister; and there were also present, among others, Kekuanaoa, the governor of Oahu, Mr. Richards, who is the king's interpreter and adviser, Haalilio, John Young, and the officers of the body-guard.

The king was dressed in a blue coat, white pantaloons, and vest. We afterwards understood that he had prepared himself to receive us in full costume, but on seeing us approaching in undress uniform, he had taken off his robes of state.

The appearance of the king is prepossessing: he is rather robust, above the middle height, has a good expression of countenance, and pleasing manners.

The person who attracted our attention most, was Kekauluohi. This lady is upwards of six feet in height; her frame is exceedingly large, and well covered with fat. She was dressed in yellow silk, with enormously large gigot sleeves, and wore on her head a tiara of beautiful yellow feathers, interspersed with a few of a scarlet

colour.\* Above the feathers appeared a large tortoise-shell comb, that confined her straight black hair. Her shoulders were covered with a richly-embroidered shawl of scarlet crape. She sat in a large arm-chair, over which was thrown a robe made of the same kind of yellow feathers as decked her tiara. Her feet were encased in white cotton stockings, and men's shoes. She was altogether one of the most remarkable-looking personages I have ever seen.

The governor was handsomely dressed in a uniform of blue and gold.

The conversation was carried on with ease through the interpretation of Mr. Richards, and left upon our minds a favourable impression of the intelligence of the royal family of these islands. One thing was certain, namely, that, in regard to personal size, they are unsurpassed by any family that has ever come under my notice.

On the 2nd of October, I received a visit from Mr. Richards, who communicated to me the desire of the king that I should visit him. In conformity with this request, I called upon him, accompanied by Captain Hudson. Although I had departed, after my first visit, highly prepossessed in his favour, I was not prepared to find him so easy and gentlemanly in his manners as he now appeared. He was alone when he received us, and in a few minutes we found that he was able to express himself very intelligibly in English, and was quick in comprehending what was said to him.

He was found at one end of the large grass-house built for him by the Governor Kekuanaoa. This building is about sixty feet long by forty feet wide, and contains only one room, which may, however, be divided by movable screens into several apartments. The floor was covered with mats. The whole was well adapted to the heat of the climate, and the smell of the sweet-scented grass was agreeable and refreshing.

He received us in a friendly manner. From the representations that had been made to me, I had been led to believe that the king was not only dull of apprehension, but had little disposition to engage in or talk of the affairs of government; I found him, on the contrary, exhibiting an intimate acquaintance with them. He entered fully and frankly into the discussion of all the matters in relation to which disputes had arisen between him and foreign nations; and I, on the other hand, was desirous to elicit his views with regard to the difficulties he had for the last year or two encountered, and learn the feelings he had experienced in the arduous situations in which he had been placed.

He spoke of the manner in which foreigners had obtruded themselves into the affairs of his government, so that no one of its acts was permitted to pass without his being called, in a rude and

\* These feathers are among the most celebrated productions of these islands, and some idea of their cost may be formed, when it is stated that each bird yields only a few, and that some thousands are required to form a head-dress. The birds (*Melithreptes pacifica*) are taken by means of birdlime, made from the *Pisonia*, and the catching of them is practised as a trade by the mountaineers. The wearing of these feathers is a symbol of high rank.



uncivil manner, to account for it. He stated, that he found great difficulty in acting correctly ; for foreigners, whom he and his chiefs had treated with every possible attention, had, from interested motives, urged measures upon him which he knew to be wrong, and had, in many cases, abused the confidence he had placed in them. He expressed the strongest desire to do right, and to protect his people from evil influences and the encroachments of designing persons, by wholesome laws and regulations.

He said his consent had been extorted by threats, to measures of which he disapproved, and that there had been instances when he had been called upon to perform alleged promises which he had never given, for there were some of the foreigners who misrepresented everything that took place in their interviews with him.

I at once pointed out a simple remedy for this, namely, that he should hereafter transact all business in writing, and have no verbal communication with people of this stamp, or indeed with any one ; telling him that by keeping their letters, and copies of his own, he would always be in possession of evidence of what had passed. I assured him that I considered his government to have made sufficient progress towards a position among civilised nations to authorise him to require that official business should be carried on in this manner, and expressed my belief, that should he adopt this method, the "bullies" of whom he had spoken would give him no further trouble.

I now found that his principal object in requesting an interview with me was, that he might renew and amplify his treaty with the United States, for which purpose he thought it probable that I might have had instructions. When he found that this was not the case, and that I had no official communication for him, he was evidently disappointed ; for he appeared most desirous to enter into a close friendship with the United States, and spoke in the highest terms of the kind manner in which he had ever been treated by our consul Mr. Brinsmade, and the commanders of the United States' vessels of war that had visited his islands. In conclusion, he intimated his hopes that the United States would acknowledge his people as a nation, and enter into a new treaty with him as its ruler.

All this was well and intelligibly expressed by him, but the main subject of the conversation, which lasted for three hours, was his regret that he had ever permitted foreigners to interfere with his laws and municipal regulations, and had not rather allowed them to do their worst. The only justification he could offer to himself for his submission was, that by yielding he had saved much trouble and distress to others.

Saturday in Honolulu is a gala day, and all ages of both sexes devote themselves to amusement. Towards the afternoon, they may be seen wending their way towards the east end of the town, in every variety of costume, and borne along in every possible manner. All who have health enough must engage in this day's sport, and every horse is in requisition. The national taste, if I may so speak, is riding horses ; and the more break-neck and furious the animal

is, the better. Nicety of equipment is not thought of: anything answers for a saddle and bridle, and as for stirrups, they are considered quite unnecessary. By four o'clock the crowd is well collected, and feats of horsemanship are practised, consisting generally in those involuntary tumblings that inexperienced riders are wont to indulge in. The great gathering is on the eastern plain, the road to which is well covered with dust. The whole looks, when the crowd has possession of it, not unlike a rag fair, the predominant colour being yellow. They are generally well behaved, and the only sufferers are the poor horses, who are kept running, not races only, but for the amusement of the riders, whose great delight is to ride at full speed. At times there are races, in which case the crowd is increased by the addition of the foreigners, many of whom are in a state of intoxication. The uproar is proportionably great, and the natives are less conspicuous, their places being occupied by those whose morals and enjoyments are far from being as innocent. When his majesty and suite are present, much more order and decorum are observed, and the whole affords a pleasing and amusing sight. The returning throng is headed by the king and his party, after whom follow the crowd in a somewhat uproarious style; those on horses indiscriminately mixed, racing and hallooing; the fair riders being borne along, amidst clouds of dust so thick, that were it not for the rustling of flowing silks and tapes, one would be at a loss to know their sex. By the evening, all is again quiet, the streets are nearly deserted, and Sunday is ushered in with a decorum and quietness that would satisfy the most scrupulous Puritan.

I was much struck with the absence of sports among the boys and children. On inquiry, I learned that it had, after mature deliberation and experience, been considered advisable by the missionaries to deprive them of all their heathenish enjoyments, rather than allow them to occupy their minds with anything that might recall old associations. The consequence is, that the Hawaiian boys are staid and demure, having the quiet looks of old men. I cannot doubt that they possess the natural tendency of youth towards frolicsome relaxations; but the fear of offending keeps a constant restraint over them. It might be well, perhaps, to introduce some innocent amusements; and indeed I believe this has been attempted, for I occasionally saw them flying kites.

The men, however, had many sports, which, though fallen into disuse, are occasionally resorted to, by way of amusement, to foreigners; among these is throwing the spear, the maika, and the buhenehene; all of these were more or less gambling games, and to such an extent that all kinds of property, wives, children, and even the players themselves, were staked at a single throw. The two first were exhibited for our gratification, but it was evident that the players were unused to such occupations, and much awkwardness was apparent in their motions.

The crew's time of liberty having expired, they were again received on board, heartily sick of their frolic. They were remarkably orderly and well behaved while on shore; and indeed the police is so efficient that it would have been impossible for them

to be riotous, if so disposed, without finding themselves prisoners in the fort. I must here do Governor Kekuanaoa the justice to say, that he performs the part of a most excellent and energetic magistrate, and while he insists on others conforming to the laws, he is equally mindful of them himself. His fault, if he errs, lies in carrying them into effect too quickly, and without sufficient examination.

Desirous of having as thorough an examination made of all the islands of the group as possible, and the repairs of the tender being completed, I sent her with several of the naturalists to the island of Kauai, with instructions to land them, on their return, on the west side of Oahu, for its examination.

On landing at Koloa, they entered an extensive level plain, bounded by a ridge of mountains, and cultivated in sugar-cane and mulberries. Captain Stetson has an establishment here built of adobes, but these are not found to be adapted to the climate. The environs of Koloa afford some pasturage; the soil is good, though dry and very stony; the grass and foliage, however, looked luxuriant. About two miles from Koloa, Captain Stetson has his silk establishment, consisting of mulberry grounds, cocoonery, &c.

Agreeably to instructions, the naturalists divided themselves into three parties—one, consisting of Dr. Pickering and Mr. Brackenridge, was to cross over the centre of the island, from Waimea to Halelea, observing the botany of the high ground; another, comprising Messrs. Peale and Rich, was to proceed along the coast on its eastern side; and the third party, Messrs. Dana and Agate, intended to pursue an intermediate course, to view the scenery, geological formation, &c. The schooner was in the meantime to make some examinations of the roadsteads and small harbours of the island.

There were two old craters near the beach, which were visited. Only a few trees were observed. On the low wet grounds are taro-patches and fish-ponds.

At Waimea, the fort built by the Russians under their absurd trademaster, Dr. Schoof, is still in existence. It is called the Russian Stone Fort, and is now garrisoned by a guard of natives.

About a mile west of Waimea is the spot where the first English boat landed from Cook's expedition. The village of Waimea takes its name from the river, which rises in the mountains, and after a course of about fifteen miles, enters the sea there.

The island of Niuhau is situated sixteen miles south-west of Kauai, and is eighteen miles long by eight broad. Its eastern side is rocky and unfit for cultivation; the inhabitants reside on its western side, on the sea shore, and are for the most part miserably poor. They cultivate, principally, yams and sweet potatoes. This island is celebrated for the beautiful mats manufactured by its women. The number of inhabitants is one thousand.

## CHAPTER IX.

## HAWAIIAN GROUP—(CONTINUED.)

The Tender is dispatched to Hawaii—Cruise of the Tender to Hawaii—Western Coast of Hawaii—Place where Captain Cook was killed—Excursion of the Naturalists—Ancient Temple of Kaili—Return of the Naturalists—Plan for the further operations of the Squadron—The Vincennes sails for Hawaii—Island of Hawaii—Mountain of Mauna Loa—Village of Hilo—Ascent of Mauna Loa—Description of the Party—Volcano of Kilauea—Appearance of the Crater—Summit of Mauna Loa—Pendulum Peak—Survey of Kilauea—Dr. Judd's Adventure—Eruption of Judd's Crater—Blowing Cone—Eruption of 1840—Sand Hills of Nanaville—Return to Hilo.

SHORTLY after our arrival, orders were given to be ready for sea by the 11th of November, at which time it was my desire that we should again be on active duty. Finding, after the return of the Flying-Fish from Kauai, that we should be detained beyond this time, the tender was sent to Hawaii.

On the 14th (Saturday), she arrived at Napolo, where our gentlemen were kindly received by Mr. Forbes, the resident missionary for the district of Kealakeakua. They found it would be impossible to proceed on their tour that day, and that their departure would have to be deferred until Monday, as it would be impossible to prepare the food necessary for the journey in a day, and the next being Sunday no natives could be persuaded to travel until Monday. At night the heavens were lighted up by the fires of the volcano of Kilauea Pele, although at the distance of forty miles.

Almost the whole coast of this district, extending forty miles, is one line of lava. This frequently lies in large masses for miles in extent, and is in other places partially broken, exhibiting perpendicular cliffs, against which the sea dashes with fury. This formation extends half a mile into the interior, and as the distance from the sea increases, the soil becomes richer and more productive. The face of the country, even within this rocky barrier, is rough, and covered with blocks and beds of lava, more or less decomposed. The land in places reaches the altitude of two thousand feet, and at a distance of two miles from the coast begins to be well covered with woods of various kinds of trees, which are rendered almost impassable by an undergrowth of vines and ferns. In these woods there are many cleared spots, which have the appearance of having been formerly cultivated, or having been burnt by the descending streams of lava.

On the north shore of the bay of Kealakeakua, is the place where Captain Cook was killed. The natives pointed out the spot where he

fell, which was on a rock, the most convenient for landing of any in the vicinity, as it is somewhat protected from the swell by a point of lava rocks. Within a few yards there is a stump of a cocoa-nut tree, at the foot of which he is said to have breathed his last. The top of this tree had been cut off and carried to England by H.B.M. ship *Imogene*. It is now treasured up in the museum of Greenwich Hospital, which I cannot but feel was an appropriate disposition of it, calculated to recall his memory to the minds of the thousands who view it, and inspire in them the feeling of proper pride, in finding that the country appreciates so remote an emblem of their distinguished countryman.

On the stump of the tree is inscribed :



CAPTAIN COOK'S MONUMENT.



NEAR THE SPOT  
FELL

CAPTAIN JAMES COOK, R.N.,

THE

RENOWNED CIRCUMNAVIGATOR,

WHO

DISCOVERED THESE ISLANDS,

A.D. 1778.

HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP

*IMOGENE*,

OCTOBER 17TH, 1837.

THIS SHEET OF COPPER AND CAP PUT ON BY SPARROWHAWK,

SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1839,

IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THIS MONUMENT TO THE

MEMORY OF COOK.

I could have wished that the first inscription, relating solely to Cook, was the only one ; the other, it seems to me, was not worthy being associated with anything connected with so great a name ; and good taste and proper feeling I think would have shrunk from inscribing it, as well as the following on another part, "*Give this a coat of tar.*"

Rain seldom falls on the west coast, except in showers, and a rainy day once in the year is looked upon as something remarkable. This, together with the absence of all dew, prevents the existence of much cultivation ; but, a mile back from the shore, the surface is covered with herbage, which maintains cattle, &c. ; and two miles in the interior there is sufficient moisture to keep up a constant verdure.

On Monday, our gentlemen formed themselves into two parties, and started on horseback for their journey. One party consisted of Messrs. Peale, Rich, and Hall, with eight Kanakas and two guides; Mr. Dana and Midshipman Hudson, with Kanakas and guides, formed the other, which took the route along the sea-shore towards the south, well provided with provisions, and a supply of various articles for their journey, all transported after the native fashion.

After a day's travel they reached the site of the ancient temple of Kaili. These ruins ~~are~~ about equally distant from three mountains, Mauna Kea, Mauna Loa, and Hualalai. This temple is said to have been built by Umi, who, with his wife Papa, is supposed to have inhabited it, ~~when he was king of the island.~~ The three northern pyramids forming the front were originally erected by Umi, to represent the districts of the island he then governed; and as he conquered other districts, he obliged each of them to build a pyramid on the side of the temple. The main building is ninety-two feet long, by seventy-one feet ten inches wide; the walls are six feet nine inches high, seven feet thick at the top, and nearly perpendicular. The building is said to have been covered with idols, and offerings were required to be brought from a great distance, consisting generally of provisions. There are now no traces left of these idols. The situation of the temple is at an elevation of five thousand feet above the sea.

Both parties visited the centre of Kilauea, and satisfied their curiosity; but as this portion of the island will be spoken of hereafter, I shall omit to give their account of it. They arrived at Hilo on the 23rd, when they embarked on board the Flying-Fish, which sailed for Oahu, and reached Honolulu on the 28th of November.

The movements of the squadron were, at this time, particularly directed to the examination of parts of the ocean possessing great interest in their connection with that important branch of national industry, the whale-fishery; and the course I proposed to adopt will be understood from the following statement of the objects I now had in view.

The Porpoise had sailed towards the Paumotu Group, or Dangerous Archipelago, lying to the eastward of Tahiti, to examine some islands that were reported as doubtful, and others whose positions were not well ascertained. She was also to leave a party on one of them, to bore through the coral rock, the Expedition having been provided with an apparatus for that purpose. Thence she was to proceed to Tahiti, and from Tahiti towards Penrhyn and Flint's Island; and return to Oahu by the end of March, 1841.

The Peacock, with the Flying-Fish as tender, I designed should visit and examine the location of several of the doubtful islands, passing along the magnetic equator westward from the meridian of 160° W.; thence to a small group of islands in longitude 174° W., which I had partly examined in the Vincennes, and had found some new islands among them; these I had called the Phoenix Group. Thence the Peacock was to proceed to search for the Gente Hermosas, of Quiros, or the islands reported to me at Upolu, when I was there in 1839, as existing to the north-east; thence to Upolu,

to re-survey the south side of the island, not having been able to satisfy myself with the former survey of it. From Upolu the Peacock and Flying-Fish had directions to sail to Ascension Island, and from thence to the north-west coast of America, to rendezvous with the rest of the squadron at the Columbia River, in the latter end of April. The Peacock and Flying-Fish sailed on the 2nd of December.

The Vincennes left the harbour of Honolulu for Hawaii on the 3rd of December. On the 8th we made Mauna Kea, then about fifty miles distant, subtending an angle of two degrees; it was capped with snow. As we approached the island, we had, also, a view of Mauna Loa, with the cloud resting ever the volcano of Kilauea, the scene of our future adventures.

In sailing towards Hilo Bay, Hawaii has but few of the characters that indicate a volcanic origin. In this respect it resembles Savaii, in the Samoan Group; and the resemblance has been the cause of what is, in fact, the same name, having been given to both. The two words differ no more in spelling and sound, than has arisen from the long separation of two families of the same race and language. Many of the points and headlands present a like similarity in name, and strengthen the conviction of the common origin of the inhabitants of the two groups.

To one unacquainted with the great height of the mountains of Hawaii, this island might appear of comparatively small elevation, for its surface rises gradually from the sea, uniform and unbroken; no abrupt spurs or angular peaks are to be seen.

The scene which the island presents as viewed from the anchorage in Hilo Bay is both novel and splendid: the shores are studded with extensive groves of cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, interspersed with plantations of sugar-cane; through these, numerous streams are seen hurrying to the ocean; to these succeeds a belt some miles in width, free from woods, but clothed in verdure; beyond is a wider belt of forest, whose trees, as they rise higher and higher from the sea, change their characters from the vegetation of the tropics to that of polar regions; and, above all, tower the snow-capped summits of the mountains.

No snow was visible to the naked eye on Mauna Loa, but with a telescope it was seen scattered here and there on its rounded summit. The appearance of this mountain is so deceptive, that one would not suppose it to have half its real altitude; and it might easily be passed unnoticed, so unpretending is its aspect. From Hilo, Mauna Loa looks as if one might walk over its smooth surface without difficulty. The position of the crater of Kilauea was denoted by the silvery cloud which hangs over it by day; which, as evening closed in, was, by the glare of the fires burning beneath, made visible throughout the night.

My time was now actively employed in establishing the observatory at Waiakea Point, for rating the chronometers, and in arranging the instruments to carry on simultaneous observations with our mountain party.

Waiakea Point is situated on the opposite side of the bay from

Hilo. The distance between them is a little more than a mile, and the path leads along a sandy beach, on which the surf continually breaks, and, at times, with great violence.

Hilo is a straggling village, and is rendered almost invisible by the luxuriant growth of the sugar-cane, which the natives plant around their houses. A good road has been made through it for the extent of a mile, at one end of which the mission establishment is situated. This consists of several houses, most of which are of modern style, covered with zinc and shingles. One of them, however, the residence of the Rev. Mr. Coan, was very differently built, and derived importance, in our eyes, from its recalling the associations of home. It was an old-fashioned, prim, red Yankee house, with white sills and casements, and double rows of small windows. No one could mistake the birthplace of the architect, and although thirty degrees nearer the equator than the climate whence its model was drawn, I could not but think it as well adapted to its new as to its original station.

On the 14th of December we set out for the ascent of Mauna Loa.

Six miles from Hilo we entered the first wood, and at 6 p.m. we passed, at eight miles distance, the chasm that divides the Hilo from the Puna district. As the darkness set in, we began to experience the difficulties we had anticipated: the bustle and noise became every moment more audible along the whole line as the night advanced: what added not a little to our discomfort, was the bad road we now had to encounter, rendered worse as each native passed on in the tracks of those preceding him, until at last it became in places quite miry.

We continued on, however, until we found most of the natives had come to a stand, and were lying about among the grass by the roadside, near a few grass-houses. Here we proposed to stay until the moon arose, and, in the interim, to get what little rest we could.

After it became sufficiently light we again set out with a part of our host. The cloud of the volcano of Kilauea lay before us like a pillar of fire, to guide us on our way.

It will scarcely be possible to form a full idea of our company; that of my Lord Byron is described as a sort of triumphal procession; ours was very different from this, and was more allied to a May-day morning in New York, or a vast caravan, consisting, as it did, of two hundred bearers of burdens, forty hogs, a bullock, and a bullock-hunter, fifty bearers of *poe* (native food), twenty-five with calabashes, of different sizes and shapes, from two feet to six inches in diameter. Some of the bearers had large and small panels of the portable house on their backs; others, frying-pans or kettles; and others, tents or knapsacks. Then there were lame horses, which, instead of carrying their riders, were led by them; besides a large number of hangers-on, in the shape of mothers, wives, and children, equalling in number the bearers, all grumbling and complaining of their loads; so that wherever and whenever we stopped, confusion and noise ensued. I felt happy in not understanding the language, and of course was deaf to their complaints. It was very evident that the loads were unequally divided; and I must do the natives the justice



to say, they had reason to complain, not of us, but of each other. It was impossible for the thing to be remedied at once, although it was not a little provoking to see several natives staggering under their loads, while one or two would be skipping along with a few pounds' weight only.

Leaving Olaa, at the height of eleven hundred and thirty-eight feet above the level of the sea, we had no distinct path to follow; for the whole surface became a mass of lava, which retained all its metallic lustre, and appeared as if it had but just run over the ground—so small was the action of decomposition. There were only a few stunted bushes on our track; but some dense patches of wood were observed on the right. The day was warm, with a bright sun; and when we passed pools of water standing in the lava rock, as we frequently did, the natives would rush into them like overheated dogs, and seemed to enjoy the temporary coolness brought about by the evaporation.

At 3 P.M. we reached Kapuanuhi, which consists of a few houses, and is about fifteen miles from Olaa. The whole extent around us was black lava; indeed there was no place where we could pitch a tent of six feet by eight, and as it looked like rain we concluded to occupy one of the houses that was offered to us; but it taught us a lesson we remembered for some time, for all our blankets and clothes became infested with fleas, and those of the most voracious kind.

The height we had now attained was two thousand one hundred and eighty-four feet; the thermometer  $72^{\circ}$ ; the lowest temperature in the night  $58^{\circ}$ .

At 8 A.M. we left Kapuanuhi, or what our company called "Flea Hall," after having passed a most comfortless night. Nothing could be more annoying than the swarms of fleas that attacked us, and I believe all the native houses are thus unpleasantly infested. In about three hours we reached the Okea tree, known as the boundary of the territory of Pele, or the goddess of the volcano. In bygone days no native dared venture beyond it without an offering to Pele, under penalty of her vengeance.

Soon after we left Kapuanuhi, we met with soil formed upon the lava by volcanic ashes; the bushes became thicker and more thrifty, rising into small trees; quantities of strawberry-vines were perceived, but the natives searched in vain for some straggling fruit. They are said to be found in great abundance, and of very fine flavour, at the proper season. Okea was the principal wood, and there was some koa (*Acacia*). A curious plant was pointed out, the sap of which blisters the skin, and with which the inhabitants produce a sort of tattooing in large and small round lumps. This plant is called mau-a-laili.

Just as we reached the great plain of the volcano, we approached the southern limit of the wood, and, on turning its corner, Mauna Loa burst upon us in all its grandeur. The day was extremely fine, the atmosphere pure and clear, except a few flying clouds, and this immense dome rose before us from a plain some twenty miles in breadth. I had not, until then, formed any adequate idea of its magnitude and height. The whole dome appeared of a bronze

colour, and its uninterrupted smooth outline was relieved against the deep blue of a tropical sky. Masses of clouds were floating around it, throwing their shadows distinctly on its sides, to which they gave occasional relief and variety. There was a bluish haze resting on the plain, that apparently gave it great distance, though this was partially counteracted by the distinctiveness of the dome. I now, for the first time, felt the magnitude of the task I had undertaken.

So striking was the mountain, that I was surprised and disappointed when called upon by my friend, Dr. Judd, to look at the volcano of Kilauea; for I saw nothing before us but a huge pit, black, ill-looking, and totally different from what I had anticipated. There were no jets of fire, no eruptions of heated stones, no cones, nothing but a depression, that, in the midst of the vast plain by which it is surrounded, appeared small and insignificant.

We hurried to the edge of the cavity, in order to get a view of its interior, and as we approached, vapour issuing from numerous cracks showed that we were passing over ground beneath which fire was raging. The rushing of the wind past us was as if it were drawn inwards to support the combustion of some mighty conflagration.

When the edge is reached, the extent of the cavity becomes apparent, and its depth became sensible by comparison with the figures of some of our party who had already descended. The vastness thus made sensible transfixes the mind with astonishment, and every instant the impression of grandeur and magnitude increases. To give an idea of its capacity, the city of New York might be placed within it, and when at its bottom would be hardly noticed, for it is three and a half miles long, two and a half wide, and a thousand feet deep. The bottom looks, in the daytime, like a heap of smouldering ruins. The descent to the ledge appears to the sight a short and easy task, but it takes an hour to accomplish.

We pitched our tents in full view of the volcano, and sat on its northern bank for a long time in silence. We succeeded in reaching the second ledge, though the way to it is steep, rugged, and uncertain. At the edge of the pool, or lake of fire, the light was so strong that it enabled me to read the smallest print.

I was struck with the absence of any noise, except a low murmuring, like that which is heard from the boiling of a thick liquid. The lake was apparently rising, and wanted but a few feet of overflowing its banks. When I began to reflect upon the position we were in, its insecurity, and the vast and deep fires beneath, with the high basaltic walls encompassing us on all sides, I found it difficult to comprehend how such a reservoir can thus be pent up, and be viewed in such close proximity, without accident or danger. The whole party was perfectly silent, and the countenance of each individual expressed the feeling of awe and wonder which I felt in so great a degree myself, and which the scene was so well calculated to excite.

No one can see all this and yet doubt the theory of the igneous fluidity of the centre of the earth. All combustible causes that we are acquainted with are totally inadequate to produce such an effect.





CRATER OF KILAUEA.

The whole seemed boiling up like a fountain, differing only in density and colour.

We returned to our tents towards midnight, much fatigued, but found sleep impossible after the excitement of such a scene.

The day we remained at the volcano was employed by the natives in preparing their food, by boiling it in the crevices on the plains from which the steam issues: into these they put the taro, &c., and closed the hole up with fern-leaves, and in a short time the food was well cooked. All the water for drinking is obtained here by the condensation of the steam, which gathers in small pools, and affords a supply of sweet and soft water. From the numbers in the camp who used it, this supply became rather scanty, but it did not entirely give out.

The crater, at night, was extremely beautiful, and we sat for a long time watching its changing and glowing pool. The shadows thrown by the walls of the crater seemed to reach the heavens, and gave it the appearance of being clothed in a dark cloud; but on looking at it more attentively, and shutting off the glare of the crater, the stars were perceived shining brightly.

About four o'clock a loud report was heard from the direction of the boiling lake, which proved to have been caused by a large projecting point of the black ledge near the lake which we had visited the evening before, having fallen in and disappeared.

The lowest temperature, during the night, was 48°. There was a light wind and no dew.

At dawn, on the morning of the 18th, the divisions set off, and our host was less mob-like; and as all things had now been more systematically arranged, the natives seemed to be all in good spirits, and moved with alacrity.

Our camp hitherto (as all camps are) had been beset with hangers-on, who were not only much in the way of those to whom they belonged, but were great consumers of the food the natives had supplied themselves with for the journey. As we already entertained apprehensions of a scarcity, prompt measures were taken by Dr. Judd to get rid of our troublesome guests, which we succeeded in doing, though not without some difficulty, and a low monotonous growling, that indicated much displeasure on the part of the fair sex.

Our route was taken at first and for a few miles in a due west line, for the top of Mauna Loa, over the extensive plain surrounding the volcano; it then deviated to the southward, over an ancient lava-bed, very much broken, that appeared never to have been traversed before. We now became for the first time acquainted with clinkers. To describe these, it is merely necessary to say, they are like the scoria from a foundry, only instead of being the size of the fist, they are from one to ten feet square, and armed on all sides with sharp points; they are for the most part loose, and what makes them still more dangerous is, that a great deal of the vitreous lava is among them.

Our guide, Puhano of Puna, now took the lead, but it soon appeared that he knew little of the route. I therefore, in company with Mr. Brinsmade, compass in hand, headed the column, and we

turned again towards the hillside, and began a rapid ascent through a belt of long grass, where the rock was covered with white clay, and seldom to be seen. This part appeared to have suffered much from drought; for in passing along we came to several narrow and dry water-courses, but met with no water.

At two o'clock we had nearly reached the upper limit of the woods, and as the clouds began to pass over, and obscure the path, we determined to halt and encamp. We made several fires along the route, in order to guide those behind, and as a mark for the stragglers; bushes were also broken off, and their tops laid in the direction we were going, by the natives; and I likewise had the trees blazed, as a further indication, well known to our men. Chronometer sights were taken here, and the altitude by barometer was five thousand and eighty-six feet.

During the day, my friend the consul had hired an especial bearer for his calabash of water, determining that he would have a sufficient supply. By our watching and cautioning the old man who had it in charge, he became somewhat alarmed and unsteady, as I thought also from fatigue. When he had arrived within a short distance of the camp, he stumbled on a smooth place, fell, and broke the calabash into numerous pieces. Those who were coming up, seeing the accident, rushed to partake of its contents, but the fluid quickly disappeared in the loose and absorbent lava. This was a dreadful blow to my friend's feelings, and produced much laughter among us, in which the consul himself at length joined.

At sunrise on the 19th, we had the temperature at 48°.

As the ascent was now becoming laborious, we selected and left the things we had no immediate use for, to follow us by easy stages. We then took a diagonal direction through the remaining portion of the woods. By one o'clock we had lost all signs of trees, and were surrounded by low scraggy bushes: the change of vegetation became evident, not only in species, but in size; we also passed through extensive patches that had been destroyed by fire. Sandal-wood was seen, not as a tree, but a low shrub.

During the day we had passed extensive caves, in all of which I had search made for water. These often lead a long distance under ground, and some of the men passed in at one end and out at another.

Between two and three o'clock, we again became enveloped in clouds, and it was necessary for us to redouble our precautions against those coming behind losing the track. Fires were again resorted to, which at short distances could be seen in the intervals of mist.

Notwithstanding the size of our party, there was no perceptible track left, or anything by which to be guided, but the smoke of the fires, or occasionally a broken shrub as a finger-post. All the ground was hard, metallic-looking lava, and around nothing but a dreary waste. The voice too became fainter, as the atmosphere grew more rarified. Our encampment was called the Sunday Station. The altitude given by the barometer was six thousand and seventy-one feet, at which we found ourselves above the region of clouds.

At night, I noticed the quantity of electrical fluid elicited, which continued to affect the objects about me, particularly a large guanaco-robe I had to sleep in.

The natives were now hawking water about the camp at half a dollar the quart. I am not aware that they sold any at that extravagant price; but I saw some of them in possession of handkerchiefs and old shirts, which I understood had been given for it.

Ragsdale, one of our guides, who had been dispatched to Papapala from the crater, to purchase provisions, now joined us, with two more guides. He brought information that he had obtained forty goats, and that we should receive full supplies. This was encouraging news, for I felt somewhat doubtful from the first in relying on the natives, and their behaviour at Kilauea was not calculated to raise my opinion of them. I found also, as we ascended the mountain, that even light loads had become heavy, and those of any weight insupportable; that our time was rapidly passing, and we had a long way yet before we reached the summit; and that the native food was nearly exhausted, while the supply for our own men was rapidly consuming.

The two guides that Ragsdale brought with him, were perfectly familiar with the mountain. One of them was a celebrated bird-catcher, called Keaweehu, who had been the guide of Lowenstern, and knew where water was to be obtained; but it was ten miles distant. He said, that if he was furnished with calabashes and natives to carry them, he would be able to bring us a supply by the afternoon, if he left before the day dawned; and that it would be two days before we could get any snow even if it were found on the mountain. It had never crossed my mind, that there was any probability of this latter resource failing us; I had in truth relied upon it with confidence, and concluded that in the event of only one snow-storm we should be enabled to find some place for a deposit, to save enough water for all our wants.

We now numbered nearly three hundred persons in camp, with but a few small calabashes containing five or six gallons of water.

Old Keaweehu told us that we had taken the wrong road to the mountain, and that Puhano was not at all acquainted with the right road—a fact we had long before discovered; that if we had come by way of Papapala, he would have been able to conduct us by a route we should have found water every few miles.

The 20th, being Sunday, was a day of rest: the natives requested that it might be so, and I readily yielded to their wishes. I was anxious, however, to ascertain the state of the mountain, and whether there was any snow to be had on its top, for I now felt satisfied that the want of water would prove the greatest difficulty I should have to encounter, in remaining there as long as I intended.

Lieutenant Budd received orders to set out with a few attendants at daylight; but after making his preparations, and having all things ready, the natives refused to accompany him on account of its being Sunday, as they said. I am, however, inclined to believe that fear had something to do with it, for they never knew of any

one having gone up this mountain before, and thought me mad for taking so much trouble to ascend it. They said that I must be in pursuit of gold and silver, or something to sell for money, as I never would take so much trouble, and spend so much money, unless it were to acquire great riches.

In the evening we were much gratified at receiving fifteen gallons of water, which the natives had brought ten miles in open-mouthed vessels, over the rough mountain roads; this they do by placing some fern-leaves on the top of the water, when it carries as well as a solid, and will bear much agitation without spilling. Though a very small supply for our necessities, it was a great satisfaction to know that it was now within reach of us. Partially relieved from this pressing difficulty, our attention was turned to the fuel, and I at once saw the necessity of providing some means for procuring a supply, as we were now at one of the last points where it was to be obtained. We were certainly two, if not three days' journey from the summit, and an ascent of eight thousand feet was still to be accomplished.

On Monday, 21st, we set out at an early hour. The ascent now became much steeper than any we had hitherto experienced, for the whole face of the mountain consisted of one mass of lava, that had apparently flowed over in all directions from the summit. The sun shone brightly, and his rays seemed to fall with increased power on the black lava. No wind was stirring, and the exhaustion consequent on the rarefied air we were breathing, made the labour of climbing very fatiguing; many suffered from nausea and headache, and the desire for water redoubled in both whites and natives. For water they could no longer find a substitute in berries, as they had previously done, for that fruit had disappeared, and the only vegetation left was a few tufts of grass.

About noon, Dr. Judd volunteered to proceed with the guide to ascertain if there was any snow, and at what distance. It was agreed that we should continue to move on in the same direction, and encamp when we found we could get no higher. Most of the party were now lying about on the rocks, with the noonday sun pouring on them; a disposition to sleep, and a sensation and listlessness similar to that produced by sea-sickness seemed to prevail. I felt the former strongly myself, and enjoyed as sound an hour's sleep on the hard lava as I have ever had. The burdens had become intolerably heavy, and all complained of their inability to carry them. The use of the sextant had become still more fatiguing than the day before, causing me much pain to hold it. From what I myself experienced, I was satisfied that every one's strength had decreased nearly one-half.

We managed, after an hour's rest, to go on two miles further, and then encamped. No place offered where we could drive a peg for the tents, and loose blocks of lava were resorted to, to confine the cords. The principal inducement for stopping at this spot was the discovery of a large tunnel, or cave, in which the men could be accommodated, and which was at a sufficient distance from the Sunday Station for a day's journey. This station was afterwards



known as the Recruiting Station, because all the sick and wounded from the higher stations were sent here as to an hospital.

Long after we had finished our arrangements for the night, and even after it had become dark, we looked in vain for Dr. Judd and his companion. We therefore lighted our fires as a signal to him, and were soon rejoiced to see him safely back. He brought with him a small snow-ball, and the agreeable intelligence that we should find abundance of snow on the top of the mountain, provided we reached it next day; for he told us it was melting fast. He had travelled for more than four hours and a half before he reached the snow, and had been an hour and a half returning down hill, on a run. The point where he met the snow appeared to him to be about equidistant from our present camp and the summit of the mountain.

I now felt that the troubles of my scientific operations were beginning, for I found that one of the iron cross-bars of the lower part of the pendulum-frame, which had been entrusted to a native to carry, had been broken into two pieces. To provide, however, for mishaps of this description, I had brought the armourer of the Vincennes with me. There would have been no difficulty in his mending it under favourable circumstances; but fearing that in our present position he might not succeed, I at once dispatched a messenger to the ship, with orders to have a new one made and forwarded as speedily as possible.

Although it was somewhat encouraging to know that snow had been found, yet we were apprehensive it might disappear before we could reach it. On holding a consultation, it was thought best that all those who were not absolutely needed for the intended operations on the mountain should make a hasty trip to the top, or terminal crater, and then return to the coast; for our provisions, as well as water, were so low, as in all probability to reduce us to a very short allowance. It was, therefore, determined, that the consul, Mr. Brackenridge, Mr. Drayton, and Mr. Elliott, should each be supplied with a day's allowance, and go on at an early hour to the summit, unencumbered, in order to satisfy themselves with a sight of it, return before night to the Recruiting Station, and thence proceed down the mountain. I resolved to go on with a few of the instruments, to choose an encampment on the summit.

All the parties set out at an early hour on their several tracks and duties. My party consisted of the guide, Keaweehu, twelve Kanakas, and seven of our own men, including the sergeant. At about twelve o'clock we reached a spot where the guide pointed out a few half-burnt sticks, as the place where Lowenstern had cooked his dinner. As the two Kanakas who had charge of the bundles of wood had contrived to lighten their loads very much by dropping part of it by the way, I gave them orders to take the wood he had left to cook our supper.

The wind blew a strong gale from the south-west, and was piercingly cold: the thermometer, at 3 P.M., showed 25°. For some time previous, I had been obliged to keep the Kanakas before me, to prevent them from throwing their loads down and deserting; b-

I found them unable to go any further ; being nearly naked, they were suffering much. Seeking a place of shelter under a high bank of clinkers, partly protected from the wind, I allowed them to deposit their loads, and gave them permission to return, upon which they seemed actually to vanish.

As soon as the natives who were on the road saw those from the upper party coming down, they could no longer be induced to face the cold, and all deserted at once. The mountain became in consequence a scene of confusion ; being strewn with instruments, boxes, pieces of the portable house, tents, calabashes, &c., which the natives had dropped.

I now found myself with the guide and nine men, with nothing for a covering but the small tent used for the instruments, and the coming on of a snow-storm made it very necessary to have something to protect us. The thermometer had gone down to 18°, and most of the men were much affected with the mountain sickness, with headache and fever, and were unable to do anything. I felt quite unwell myself from the same cause, having a violent throbbing of the temples and a shortness of breath, that were both painful and distressing. With the few men that remained able to work, I began building a circular wall of the clinkers, to enable us to spread what little canvass we had, over it ; all the blankets we could spare were hung inside, which I hoped would keep us from being frozen. After succeeding in this, which occupied us till dark, we made a fire to prepare our scanty supper, and some tea for the sick. I now discovered that three of the men were absent ; and, on inquiry, found that they had gone down, in hopes of finding my tent, which they supposed had been left about a mile below. One may judge of my uneasiness, as it was pitchy dark, and there was no trace whatever of a track, or anything by which they could find their way back, over many dangerous chasms. I had barely wood enough to heat the water for the sick, and no more than a piece or two of candle, without any lantern, and therefore no obvious means of making a signal. However, as necessity is the mother of invention, I turned my clothes out of the calabash, and fastening a piece of cotton shirt over it, made quite a respectable lantern ; this was placed on the most conspicuous point. After the light had been extinguished several times, and a series of difficulties encountered in relighting it, we succeeded in establishing our light-house ; and, though a feeble one, it had the desired effect. The men, when they first saw it, had already strayed off the track ; and had it not been for the lantern, would not have been able to join us again. They came back ; crawling on their hands and knees ; and had travelled thus for most of the distance. The whole time they had been absent, was two hours and a half. Although I felt very much displeased with their departure without permission, I could not find fault with them—so much was I rejoiced to see them in safety, and when I knew they had incurred all this fatigue and risk to make me more comfortable.

The snow now began to fall fast. My steward, from his thoughtfulness, had an ample supply of tea, which he had carried in.

his knapsack, to save it from being plundered ; and consequently we had enough to supply all.

The supper being ended, we stowed ourselves away within the circular pen ; and while the men kept passing their jokes about its comforts within, the wind blew a perfect hurricane without. The spirits of those who were sick began to revive ; and although there was scarcely a foot of level rock, all were soon fast asleep. I had little inclination, indeed, to rest ; for difficulties seemed to increase upon me.

At about four o'clock in the morning, the snow had accumulated in such quantities on our canvass roof, that it broke in upon us, bringing down, also, some of the stones. This was a disagreeable accident ; and after escaping from beneath the ruin, it became necessary to take the covering off and clear the snow out of the pen, which was nearly full. This was the work of nearly an hour of unpleasant labour ; but it was much more easily accomplished than getting ourselves warm again.

When daylight came, the storm had somewhat abated in violence, and I dispatched the men for the tents and wood, a part of which had been dropped by one of the natives within half a mile of our position. A man soon returned with the wood, and another brought forward a calabash, in which we fortunately found some provisions, and we soon had what we little expected, something to eat, and what the men called a comfortable breakfast.

It was very pleasant to find the sick ones reviving, and good humour and cheerfulness so predominant among them that they seemed ready for further exertions. We had now all that was necessary to push on to the summit. I left a flag on a rocky peak near by ; and this was afterwards called the Flag Station.

About eleven o'clock we set out, and were obliged to cross a mass of clinkers, which our guide had hitherto endeavoured to avoid. When, after two hours' laborious walking, we reached the top or terminal crater, it still continued snowing in squalls, with a keen south-west wind driving in our faces ; the ground being covered a foot deep with snow, rendered it more dangerous and irksome to pass over such loose and detached masses.

From intelligence that had been brought me by the gentlemen who had gone before and taken a hasty look into the crater, it was thought that the descent into it would prove easy, and that I might encamp on its floor ; but I found, after travelling a long distance over the rugged surface, that it was impossible to succeed in making a descent. I was, therefore, compelled to return, and choose the smoothest place for our encampment I could find. It was after four o'clock, and but little time was left for the men to return. As soon as they had pitched the tent, within about sixty feet of the edge of the crater, using large blocks of lava to confine its cords, I sent them off under charge of the guide to the Flag Station, and remained with my servant only.

By six o'clock I thought that we had made ourselves comfortable for the night, and that the storm had so far moderated that it would not trouble us ; but a short hour proved the contrary. Our fire was

dispersed, candles blown out, and the tent rocking and flapping as if it would go to pieces, or be torn asunder from its fastenings, and disappear before the howling blast. I now felt that what we had passed through on the previous night, was comfort in comparison to this. The tent, however, continued to stand, although it had many holes torn in it, and the ridge-pole had chafed through its top.

It was truly refreshing, after the night we had passed, to see the sun rising clear. It seemed quite small, and was much affected by horizontal refraction, as it appeared above the sea, forming a long horizontal ellipse of two and a half diameters, first enlarging on one side and then on another. After it had reached the height of two diameters above the horizon, the ellipse gradually inclined on the right, and in a few moments afterwards its longer axis became vertical, and it then enlarged at the bottom, somewhat in the form of an egg.

My servant fruitlessly attempted to make a fire; after he had exhausted all the matches without success, we each took turns to ignite a stick after the native fashion, but with no more success; the nearest approximation to it was plenty of smoke. After making many vain attempts, and having had but little sleep, we took to our blankets again, to await the coming of some of the party from below.

At about eleven o'clock, on the 23rd, Drs. Judd and Pickering pulled open the tent, and found us both wrapped up in our blankets. They had passed the night at the Flag Station.

The news Dr. Judd brought was far from encouraging; nearly all the natives had deserted the boxes; many of them had not even reached the Recruiting Station, Ragsdale and his forty goats had not arrived; nor were there any tidings of the party from the ship. The natives, hearing of our distresses, and probably exaggerating them, had refused to furnish anything unless at exorbitant prices.

After getting a fire lighted, and something to eat, Drs. Judd, Pickering, and myself, set out to reconnoitre the crater for a more suitable place in which to establish the tents; but, after much search, we found none that offered so many facilities as that I had accidentally chosen the first night.

Nothing can exceed the devastation of the mountain: the whole area of it is one mass of lava, that has at one time been thrown out in a fluid state from its terminal crater. There is no sand or other rock; nothing but lava on whichever side the eye is turned. To appearance it is of different ages, some of very ancient date, though, as yet, not decomposed, and the alternations of heat and cold, with rain and snow, seem to have united in vain for its destruction. In some places it is quite smooth, or similar to what has already been described as the pahoehoe, or "satin stream;" again it appears in the form of clinkers, which are seldom found in heaps, but lie extended in beds for miles in length, sometimes a mile wide, and occasionally raised from ten to twenty feet above the surface of the surrounding lava.

The place where these clinkers appear to me to have been formed is in the crater itself; there they have been broken up by contending forces, and afterwards ejected with the more fluid lava, and borne

upon its surface down the mountain side, until they became arrested in their course by the accumulating weight, or stopped by the excessive friction that the mass had to overcome. In this way the beds, or rather streams, of them might have been formed, which would accumulate for miles, and continue to increase as the crater discharged this description of scoria. What strengthened my opinion in this respect was, that there were, apparently, streams of pahoehoi coming out from underneath the masses of clinkers wherever they had stopped.

This day we received news of the arrival of Lieutenant Alden at the Recruiting Station, with the detachment from the ship; but he had brought no provisions, and none had yet reached the station. This arrival, therefore, instead of supplying our wants, rather increased them.

The small transit was brought up this day, and, to add to my vexations, on opening it, I found the level broken. I did not stop to inquire by what accident this had happened, but within ten minutes dispatched an order to the ship for another, which was distant sixty miles.

In the evening, at 6 P.M., the thermometer stood at 29°, and during the night it fell to 23°.

Christmas-day set in quite stormy, with snow, and a gale from the south-west; it was very cold; and the only way we had of keeping warm was to wrap ourselves up with blankets and furs. We had just wood enough to heat a little chocolate.

While the rest were employed in making our tents as tight as possible, in the one Dr. Judd and myself occupied we discovered a great deposit of moisture, which, on examination, was found to be caused by steam issuing through a crack in the lava. On placing a thermometer in it, it rose to 68°. The tent was forty feet from the edge of the precipice of the crater, and it was not surprising that the steam should find its way up from the fires beneath. As it somewhat annoyed us, we pounded and filled the seam full of broken pieces of lava. This circumstance led, to the discovery of a small piece of moss, the only living thing, either animal or vegetable, that we found within six miles distant, or within four thousand feet of the height of the terminal crater. This moss was here nourished by the steam that escaped, which supplied it with warmth and moisture.

This day we made many experiments on the temperature of boiling water: the mean of the observations gave the boiling temperature at 188°, being five hundred and sixty feet to each degree of temperature. At the volcano of Kilanea, I had found it less than five hundred and fifty feet to each degree; while the result of careful experiments at the Sunday Station gave five hundred and fifty-five feet to the degree, and at the Recruiting Station, five hundred and fifty-eight feet.

We also employed ourselves in building a high stone wall around a space large enough to contain the houses and tents, when they should all arrive, having found the necessity of it to protect ourselves from the violent winds. Besides this, each tent was to be surrounded by a separate wall, up as high as the eaves, when completed.

Some of the boxes now began to make their appearance, by the aid of the sailors from the ship ; but the provisions had not arrived, and the allowance was again reduced. Most of the men were without shoes, having worn out those they left the ship with ; and being barefooted, could not move over the sharp vitreous lava. Many of them were likewise ill with the mountain-sickness. Wood was brought up, and water sent down to the lower station, in exchange.

The wind had been fresh throughout the day ; but towards night it began to increase, and by eight o'clock we had another violent gale from the south-west. I do not think I ever passed such a night : it blew a perfect hurricane for several hours, causing an incessant slamming, banging, and flapping of the tents, as though hundreds of persons were beating them with clubs. These noises, added to the howling of the wind over the crater, rendered the hours of darkness truly awful.

The two other tents were blown down. The men lay under the fallen tents, and were made far more comfortable after the accident. It was impossible to stand against the gusts ; and we watched all night, for no one could sleep. The thermometer fell to 17° inside the tent ; and water in the bags froze under my pillow. About three o'clock, the wind began to moderate ; and at sunrise, we found the temperature at 20°.

From the news respecting the condition of the men, I determined to see them myself. Dr. Judd and I therefore set out to ascertain the exact situation of things, give the men encouragement, and renew the spirit with which they had left the ship, as volunteers. I have always found that sailors are easily encouraged ; and by putting a light heart and cheerful face upon the times, they quickly re-assume their good spirit.

We found a large number of men in a temporary tent, lying on the panels of the portable houses : some of them were suffering from mountain-sickness, others vomiting ; some had attacks of diarrhoea, others had not got over their forced march, and showed me their bleeding feet and shoeless condition ; all were looking half-savage, with over-grown beards, dirty and ragged clothes—so totally different from their trim and neat appearance on board ship, that I was shocked at the change produced in so short a time.

While Dr. Judd administered to the sick, I spoke to those who were well, and succeeded in animating them : they all assured me they were "good pluck," and such I afterwards found them. They set about mending their shoes and making sandals ; and, by the next day, many were transporting small loads up the mountain-side.

At about four o'clock we reached the Recruiting Station, having encountered the boxes and various articles, together with pieces of the portable house, strewn along the way. We found Lieutenant Budd quite well, and only a few of the men that were with him sick : they had little or no provisions.

The difference of temperature between the altitude of fourteen thousand and nine thousand feet was very apparent : we could now enjoy sitting in the open air without feeling cold ; it was as if we had passed at once from winter to spring. Although, ten days

before, I had looked upon this spot as particularly barren, being destitute of vegetation and without water, yet, by comparison with the upper station which we had just left, everything now appeared comfortable. All the sick were immediately transported here, and placed under the superintendence of Dr. Judd and his assistants.

After arranging everything relative to the provisions, when they should arrive, and visiting the sick with Dr. Judd, I determined to return to the top. The doctor remained for a day or two, to arrange matters with the natives at the lower station, so as to have our supplies more regularly forwarded. Taking with me James G. Clark, a seaman, I again started for the summit, heavily laden with provisions. In order to prevent any accident by losing the direction, small flags were placed, as we went up, within sight of each other. We reached the observatory at the terminal crater at four o'clock, after a hard walk of six hours. We had now three stations, viz., the Recruiting Station, Lieutenant Alden's, and the Flag Station, under the sergeant of marines. These made it a more easy task to get the loads up, although it would require a long time.

The cold, this day, to our feelings, was intense, although the temperature was not lower than  $26^{\circ}$ . All our exertions in carrying stone for the wall, and violent exercise, could not keep us warm. Dr. Pickering came in, towards dark, half frozen, having made the circuit of the three craters, which had occupied him nearly all day.

On the 28th the day dawned with fine weather, and continued beautifully clear. We were employed in taking observations: a wall was also built around the observatory, to protect it from the wind.

On the 29th we were busy putting up the pendulum apparatus. A short time after noon, Dr. Judd again joined us with the joyful news that the party from the ship had arrived, with sixty days' provisions for as many men. I now felt that through our own perseverance we should succeed in obtaining our wishes, for with this supply we could remain sufficiently long to effect my object in visiting the mountain.

The whole village being now completed, we had an opportunity to turn our attention to exploring the summit and craters.

Dr. Judd, the sergeant, and Brooks, made the descent into the crater over large blocks of lava, and in an hour's time they reached the bottom. The walls of the crater were subsequently measured during the survey of it, which gave the west bank seven hundred and eighty-four feet, east bank four hundred and seventy feet. Although the bottom appeared from the top quite smooth, they found on reaching it, that it was a succession of ridges running north and south across the crater, with smooth lava between. Towards the western side rose a hill two hundred feet high, of scoriæ and pumice, through cracks in which was emitted sulphurous acid gas; in places about the crater were found the sulphates of soda and lime, and many specimens of beautiful crystals of these and

the carbonates of lime, ammonia and magnesia were procured. All the parties who visited the craters, were under the impression that fierce volcanic fires are still raging in the bowels of the mountain, and that the interior of the crater will be constantly subject to change, and if the internal fires cannot find vent on the flanks of this immense lava dome (for such in truth is Mauna Loa), the liquid rock will be vomited forth from its terminal outlet as in by-gone days.

When the dew-point was low, electricity was easily excited; it would manifest itself in sparks of large size and much noise.

During our stay on the summit, the movements of the clouds below us gave us constant interest. The play of these masses was at times in circular orbits, again in diverging from centres and then passing to and fro in every direction, assuming every variety of shape and motion. At times they would approach with their cumulous fronts until reaching the height of eight thousand feet, spreading horizontally, and then dissipating. Again they would be lying over the island in horizontal sheets, as white as the purest snow, with a sky above of the deepest azure blue that fancy can depict. Observations were frequently made of their velocity by their fleeting shadows across the crater (the diameter of which we had ascertained by triangulation); the greatest was found to be forty-seven miles per hour, at which times the wind was blowing a strong gale.

Sound was tried by comparing it with our measured sides, and gave results as satisfactory as those obtained below in denser atmosphere. The report of the gun produced a hissing noise, and caused no unpleasant sensation when close to it, while below, it was absolutely necessary to close the ears when within twenty feet of it.

Little idea can be given of the fatigue in travelling over the summit. Shoes of the coarsest and strongest kind would scarcely last the day, being cut to pieces by the obsidian and lava—even the smooth places were in general covered with a fine volcanic glass—the walking was attended, besides, with the danger of being precipitated into fissures by breaking through the crust, and being in a steam or vapour bath, whose temperature was not much below boiling.

The view from the western side of the dome of Mauna Loa, was, as we saw it, surpassingly grand. In the distance, the island of Maui emerged from and broke the line of the deep blue horizon, while its lower side was dimmed by a whitish haze, that seemed to unite it to the island of Hawaii. The same haze enveloped the hills of Kohala on our right, and the western extremity of Hawaii. Nearer to us was Hualalai, the third great mountain of Hawaii, up whose sides a compact mass of white fleecy clouds was impelled by the sea-breeze. To our right rose in bold relief Mauna Kea, covered with its snowy mantle; and at our feet was spread out, between the three great mountains, the black plain of lava, overhung by a dusky pall of clouds. All these features were so blended into each other by the mist, as to exhibit a tone of harmony that could hardly



be conceived, considering the variety of the forms, characters, and distances of the objects, and which seemed to blend earth, sea, and sky into one. I can never hope again to witness so sublime a scene, to gaze on which excited such feelings that I felt relieved when I turned from it to engage in the duties that had called me to the spot.

It was not without some nervous excitement that I placed my instrument on the highest point of Mauna Loa, within a few feet of its crater, and turned it upon Mauna Kea, to measure the difference in the height of these twin giants of the Pacific.

The very idea of standing on the summit of one of the highest peaks in the midst of this vast ocean, in close proximity to a precipice of profound depth, overhanging an immense crater "out-rageous as a sea," with molten rock, would have been exciting even to a strong man; but the sensation was overpowering to one already exhausted by breathing the rarefied air, and toiling over the lava which this huge cauldron must have vomited forth in quantities sufficient to form a dome sixty miles in diameter, and nearly three miles in height.

I was still in doubt which mountain I should find the highest; for, although previous measurements had given it in favour of Mauna Kea, yet I had found Mauna Loa about three hundred feet higher than it had been reported to be. Double the zenith angle was soon obtained, and decided it in favour of Mauna Kea, and subsequent calculations gave one cone of it as one hundred and ninety-three feet above the place where I stood. Although twin mountains, they are of different character. Mauna Kea is a vast mound topped with cones, nine in number, whilst Mauna Loa is a smooth dome. On the former the frosts of winter prevail, while the latter has internal fires, and occasionally vomits forth its lava to the very point where the other begins to rise, covering its broad flanks with layers of rocks.

When day broke, on the 13th January, all was bustle on the summit of Mauna Loa. Every one was engaged in taking down and packing up the instruments and equipage, loaded with which the native labourers scampered off. Some of them, indeed, unable to bear the cold any longer, and hoping to obtain loads afterwards, withdrew without burdens.

At nine o'clock, Dr. Judd, myself, and six of the crew of the Vincennes, bade adieu to the walled village we had built. The men showed their delight at quitting this barren and desolate spot by three hearty cheers.

Previous to our departure, I had the words "Pendulum Peak, January, 1841," cut in the lava within our village. J. G. Clark, one of the seamen belonging to the Vincennes, who made these marks, came to me and desired, on the part of the men, that I would allow them to add to it "U. S. Ex. Ex.," in order that there might be no mistake as to who had been there; to this I readily gave my consent. This was the same man who had been wounded at Malolo, and one of the best and most useful we had with us; in himself he united many employments, as a seaman, drummer, fifer, cook, and stone-

cutter ; knew a little of physic, sang a good sailor's song, and was withal a poet !

The wind, when we set out, blew very strong from the south-west, and flurries of snow were passing by every few minutes. In two hours we reached the Recruiting Station, where we found Lieutenant Alden and many Kanakas on their way up. After a rest of two hours, and obtaining new shoes, we went on and reached the Sunday Station at five o'clock, scarcely able to drag one foot after the other. Here we were soon enveloped in mist, and found the soft and delightful temperature of spring. I cannot venture to describe the effect this produced on us after our three weeks' sojourn on the cold, bleak, and barren summit. I felt for the first time in my life fairly broken down, and almost past the soothing effects of the loomi-loomi, which the natives at once offered as a relief to me ; it may be called a lesser shampooing, and consists, as practised in the Sandwich Islands of a gentle kneading of the limbs, which has a great tendency to restore the circulation, and relax the muscles and joints. The natives use it for rheumatism, headache, and all kinds of pains. It requires some skill to do it well, and there is the greatest difference in the performance between persons who are practised in it and those who are not. The chiefs generally have two persons employed at the same time. We soon had a good fire made before our Hawaiian hut ; its warmth, together with an excellent supper made us comfortable, and we were soon asleep on the dried grass.

The next morning, when I awoke, all nature seemed to be alive ; the songs of the birds, the cheerful voices of the natives, were delightful ; the green foliage gave everything an air of spring. We were so stiff as scarcely to be able to move, which was all that now remained to remind us of the scenes we had left, and the fatigues we had undergone. When we again set off, it was amusing to see the whole party moving along with their stiff and aching limbs, trying to appear but little fatigued. At twelve o'clock we reached the station where we had abandoned our chairs, and I never was more relieved than when I reached mine, for I was quite unable to walk any further. Here, also, we were met by the natives with fruit ; indeed, every step we took seemed to be restoring us to the comforts of life.

The only accidents that had befallen us during our lengthened stay of three weeks on the top of the mountain, was that which happened to poor Longley, who had been taken sick and lost for two days ; in consequence of the exposure and sickness he was never able to do anything afterwards, and was brought to an untimely grave shortly after our return. The other was the loss of a native, who wandered from the path and perished. A long search was made for him, but without success, by his friends and relatives. The crater of Kilauea offered one of the most interesting scenes witnessed during the voyage ; and after our long residence in the cold regions, we enjoyed the prospect of fully exploring it in the actual survey of its limits.

Signals were placed around it, at its most prominent angles, and a base measured, and the whole extent brought within the

triangulation, so that we were enabled to fix any position within and without its borders by the three-point problems. The large sulphur bank to the north was the first to claim our attention. We descended into the chasm of some forty feet in depth, out of which steam and the vapours of sulphur were issuing, as far as the heat would permit, and in the cavities we obtained some beautiful specimens of crystallised sulphur of large size. In some parts of the chasm the temperature was at the boiling point, and in all parts uncomfortably hot and stifling. The principal part of the bank was formed of an unctuous red and blue clay, so nearly allied to a pigment as to be used by the missionaries as a paint. Dr. Judd volunteered to head a party to go in search of some specimens of gases, with the apparatus we had provided, and also to dip up some liquid lava from the burning pool.

What seems remarkable, there is no appearance of such a phenomenon being near, when removed a few yards from its banks, and one cannot but express great surprise at seeing so wonderful a sight; from all parts the view is most astonishing, but the finest position is at the northern end, where the whole of this mighty laboratory of nature is embraced in the prospect.

There are but few loose blocks of lava that have the appearance of having been ejected, lying on the south-east side; the surrounding plain is covered with volcanic sand which has been thrown out at remote periods, and there is a tradition that a whole army was once buried by the sand and ashes as they were marching by.

The crater has been already described. As to its general appearance, it is to be understood that the volcanic action is continually going on, and scarcely any part of it would be found unchanged if critically examined weekly or daily, and it is with great risk that a visit is made to its lower floor at all times, and there are few of the natives who are willing to incur it even with the prospect of a large reward: the very look of it gives apprehension, and the morning that Dr. Judd departed on his tour of duty, it seemed particularly so. We all went to our several duties, and he marched off with a party of natives bearing his apparatus, among it our frying-pan tied to a pole, to be used to dip up the liquid lava from the pool.

After making various unsuccessful attempts to collect gases and obtain specimens, he came to one of the small craters, and thence passed up a considerable ascent, towards the great fiery lake, at the southern extremity, which had been formed by successive overflows of the lava. This rock, or rather crust, was almost black, and so hot as to act on spittle just as iron heated to redness. On breaking through the upper crust, which was somewhat brittle, and two or three inches thick, the mass beneath, although solid was of a cherry red. The pole with which the crust was pierced took fire as it was withdrawn. It was not deemed prudent to venture nearer; although the heat might have been endured, yet the crust might have been too weak to bear the weight, and to break through would have been to meet a death of the most appalling kind; they were therefore compelled to return and seek another spot.

On the sides of a small crater (which had been previously measured and found to be two hundred feet in diameter by thirty-eight feet deep), Dr. Judd saw some fine specimens of capillary glass, "Pele's hair," which he became anxious to obtain. With the aid of a native he descended, and when down was in danger of falling from the narrowness of the ledge on which he had footing. He was enticed onwards to gather the finest specimens. While thus advancing, he saw and heard a slight movement in the lava, about fifty feet from him, which was twice repeated; curiosity led him to turn to approach the place where the motion occurred. In an instant, the crust was broken asunder by a terrific heave, and a jet of molten lava, full fifteen feet in diameter, rose to the height of about forty-five feet, with the most appalling noise. He instantly turned for the purpose of escaping, but found he was now under a projecting ledge, which opposed his ascent, and that the place where he descended was some feet distant. The heat was already too great to permit him to turn his face towards it, and was every moment increasing; while the violence of the throes, which shook the rock beneath his feet, augmented. Although he considered his life as lost, he did not omit the means for preserving it, but offering a mental prayer for Divine aid, he strove although in vain, to scale the projecting rock. While thus engaged he called in English upon his native attendants for aid; and looking upwards, saw the friendly hand of Kalumo, who, on this fearful occasion, had not abandoned his spiritual guide and friend, extended towards him. Ere he could grasp it, the fiery jet again rose above their heads, and Kalumo shrunk back, scorched and terrified, until, excited by a second appeal, he again stretched forth his hand, and seizing Dr. Judd's with a giant's grasp, their joint efforts placed him on the ledge. Another moment, and all aid would have been unavailing to save Dr. Judd from perishing in the fiery deluge.

The rest of the natives were some hundred yards distant, running as fast as their legs could carry them. On calling to them, they returned and brought the frying-pan, by which time the crater was full of lava, and running over at the northern side, where Dr. Judd was enabled to dip up a pan of it. He now found he had no time to lose; the lava was flowing so rapidly to the north, that their retreat might be cut off, and the whole party destroyed. Dr. Judd was burned severely on each wrist and on his elbows, and Kalumo's face was one blister.

The eruption from Judd's crater was great in the evening; the lava was flowing as fluid as water over the whole of the northern portion of the bottom. The most brilliant pyrotechnics would have faded before it. I had thought it impossible that the appearance of the great burning lake presented on my first view could be exceeded, yet this far surpassed it. The area covered by the fluid lava was upwards of a mile and a half in length, by half a mile wide, representing cascades, lakes, and rivers flowing in serpentine courses, dividing and again uniting in a fiery flood to overrun a large tract of blackness, and light up the projecting ledges with their scraggy and detached masses. These streams were of a vivid

white heat at the point of eruption, gradually diminishing until they assumed a cherry redness at the extreme points of the flow. The sight was magnificent, and worth a voyage round the world to witness.

The next morning, the large lake had sunk to a great depth; we however determined to descend and complete our survey of the bottom, and the measurement of the altitude of its sides. From the top to the black ledge was found to be six hundred and fifty feet, and from the black ledge to the bottom three hundred and forty-two feet; total depth, nine hundred and ninety-two feet; the width of the black ledge varies from six hundred to two thousand feet. Although it has the appearance of being level from the top, it is not so, and has many cones of lava rising from its surface, while the latter is overrun by huge streams of lava in the form of serpents coiled and twisted in every variety of form and shape.

On our way to the southern end we stopped opposite Judd's lake; it was still overflowing. In looking over the edge of this black ledge, the heated air that arose was almost scorching. The whole area was filled with fluid, which appeared of a red heat, and still flowing. The surface had become comparatively level by being filled up. As we passed onward we had to pass over numbers of wide chasms, and when doing so, compelled to put the hand over our mouths to avoid the heated blasts which were, towards the southern end, accompanied by the fumes of sulphur. On reaching the spot we measured our base line, and took the angles as quickly as possible; the result of which gave the great lake fifteen hundred feet in length by one thousand feet in width. Just as we had finished, the sergeant gave me notice that he had perceived a movement in the bank, upon which we made a hasty retreat. One of the men in his haste stumbled, fell, and disappeared from our sight; we instantly stopped, and my heart rose to my throat. I could scarcely believe my eyes when I saw him rise from the crust of lava, through which he had fallen into a chasm of no great depth.

The eastern sulphur banks we found in a state of action, somewhat like the slaking of lime.

To stand on the black ledge and look around produces feelings similar to those with which the scene of some dreadful conflagration would be viewed; but there is added to this sadness an insecurity, arising from the fires that are raging around and known to exist underneath. The view around has nothing earthly in it; one cannot comprehend how rock can be thus fused and made liquid without the agency of fuel. Our notions of the solidity of stone must here undergo a total change, and there is nothing with which such a scene can be compared. The varieties of lava are not the least striking part of this phenomenon; the predominant one is of a dark hue and metallic lustre; it lies in a layer a foot thick, and is quite solid; the others are less dense, more vesicular, and vitreous. Each separate flow differs from the succeeding one, and can be easily recognised. That which was ejected during our stay was in many parts so vitreous as to be almost obsidian. Pumice is generally found in small lumps on the plain above. There is no appearance that the crater of Kilæa has ever overflowed its banks.

Kilauea is one of those places that grow in interest, and after being there four days I was little disposed to leave it. It excites all the energies of both body and mind. The discharge which took place from the large lake on the 17th, was calculated to be equal to fifteen millions of cubic feet of melted rock. It is impossible to calculate the discharge from Judd's lake, but supposing it had continued as rapid as at the first filling, it would have thrown out, by the time I visited it the next day, upwards of two hundred millions of cubic feet of lava. It will readily be perceived, that with such a flood, within a period comparatively short, geologically speaking, it would be possible for a mound the size of Mauna Loa to be heaped up; yet this boiling up will bear no comparison with the outpourings of the great terminal crater.

On leaving Kilauea we took up our route along the line of pit-craters and the late eruption of lava. By the term pit-crater is meant that description of crater which is sunk beneath the level plain, and which never throws out lava. The formation of these was the undermining of the part beneath by streams of lava, and the superincumbent rock not having support had fallen, and sunk to the depth of eight hundred or one thousand feet, when the lava had flowed in and covered its bottom.

The cone-craters are hills of scorize and ashes, rising from five hundred and sixty to eight hundred feet above the plain. Our descent was made along the line of the recent eruption, and through an altitude of three thousand nine hundred and seventy feet, extending from the crater of Kilauea to the sea-shore at Kapoho, the south-east point of the island, a distance of thirty-three miles.

We found the altitude where the eruption of May, 1840, first broke out, was twelve hundred and forty-four feet above the level of the sea, and about the same descent below the bottom of the crater of Kilauea. The eruption had appeared in a point, and, accumulating there, had stretched itself out on either side, flowing down towards the sea, and gathering strength as it went. By the time it had reached two miles it became a torrent of fluid rock, from ten to fifteen feet in thickness, which swept everything before it, overlaying the soil, and destroying all the vegetation that came in its way.

This vast rocky stream was about thirty-six hours reaching the sea, a distance of ten miles, the declivity being about one hundred feet to the mile. The outpouring seems to have been through a rent on the line of the flood, extending from the first point of outbreak, and in places there are evidences of lateral and parallel rents. The whole width of this stream (nearly two miles) seems in places to have flowed in one fluid mass. In many places lava jets have arisen of twenty feet in height, and resemble huge statues.

This eruption of lava entered the sea near Nanavalie; before reaching this point it had contracted to three-quarters of a mile in width, and its depth was increased, and seems as though it had been crowded together and broken up like ice, slab overlaying slab, and many of these ground to pieces by the pressure from behind.

The most surprising effect is the formation of three extensive sand-hills, which rise two hundred and forty feet above the stream of lava: these have been forced up and formed by this fiery torrent, for from all accounts, previous to this eruption the coast was one continuous lava cliff, of the hard metallic kind, like that which still exists on both sides of the sand-hills for miles. The colour of these sand-hills is of a light yellow hue. Quantities of gravel and sand were strewn on either side, and lodged in the pandanus and other trees for a long distance. There was no appearance of shoals beyond the line of the coast.

Nanavale village was destroyed by this stream, and a deep layer of rock was left upon its cultivated grounds. The natives had remained until the last moment, hoping the torrent would have been stayed or turned aside.

The south sand-hill, on which we ascended, commands an extensive view over a scene of complete devastation, heightened in its character of desolation by the sulphurous gases and smoke which were still escaping from the recent streams of lava. The latter, except in colour, resembled a river on whose banks large masses of ice are heaped, and whose overflow had carried destruction in its course.

We finally reached the observatory, after an absence of forty-two days. Here we were engaged in the various duties until the 4th of March, during which time some of the scientific corps and officers made excursions to the crater, and Mauna Kea was also ascended by Dr. Pickering and Mr. Brackenridge.

Hilo is the principal missionary station of this island (Hawaii), and the boys and girls' schools are in a prosperous condition, under the superintendence of Mr. and Mrs. Lyman and Mrs. Coan. There are some forty-two others, under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Coan. They comprise in all four hundred children and five hundred adult scholars.

The natives of this island we found exceedingly well disposed towards and inclined to work, and were it not for the exactions of their chiefs, and their control over them, they might receive the benefits of their labour. The taxation and the services rendered to the government and chiefs take away the incitement to labour for themselves. The climate of the windward side of Hawaii is wet, and although from our experience we did not find it too much so, yet from the facts that were derived from the residents and the luxuriance of the growth, I am disposed to believe it is excessively so, particularly during the spring and autumn months.

To the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Coan, Mr. and Mrs. Lyman, and Messrs. Pitman and Wilson, we were all much indebted. They did everything to promote our pleasure and advance our duties. In this latter we derived great assistance from the king's agent, Rea, who had accompanied us from Oahu, and who, acting under the authority of his Hawaiian Majesty, procured all kinds of supplies in abundance.

## CHAPTER X.

## HAWAIIAN GROUP—(CONCLUDED.)

Departure of the Vincennes from Hilo Bay—Island of Maui—King's Palace—Town of Lahaina—Private Apartments of the King—Seminary of Wailuku—Lieutenant Budd's Account of the loss of Boat—Visit to the Seminary of Lahainaluna—Lahaina—Industry of the Inhabitants—East Maui—Crater of Haleakala—Native Vices—Islands of Lanai and Molokai—The Vincennes and Porpoise at Honolulu—Cruise of the Porpoise in the Paumotu Group—Experiments Made—Penrhyn Island—The Porpoise Returns to Honolulu.

BY the 15th of February, 1841, I found that my long detention at Hilo would place it out of my power to visit the Marquesas Islands, as I had intended. I therefore determined, before returning to Oahu, to pass a short time at Maui; and as we had exhausted the field of research on Hawaii, Messrs. Pickering, Drayton, and Brackenridge took passage thither in a small vessel, in order that they might have a longer time to explore that island. On the 5th of March, we succeeded in getting to sea.

At midnight, being nearly up with Kahoolawe, we hove-to, to await daylight. The next morning we entirely lost the trades, owing to the high land of Kahoolawe, and after being becalmed for an hour, we took a light sea-breeze from the south-west, which slowly brought us to an anchorage in Lahaina Roads, abreast of the king's palace.

The island of Maui is divided into two oval-shaped peninsulas, connected by a low isthmus, only a few feet higher than the beach. Although on a first view the peninsulas resemble each other, on closer examination they are found to be very different. East Maui is the largest of the two, and rises in one unbroken mountain, ten thousand feet in elevation. West Maui has many sharp peaks and ridges, which are divided by deep valleys, and which in descending towards the sea open out and form sloping plains on the north and south sides of considerable extent. The highest peak of West Maui was found, by triangulation, to be six thousand one hundred and thirty feet.

An officer was at once dispatched to wait upon the king, who signified his desire to see me in the afternoon. I accordingly had the honour of waiting on him, and was received with great warmth and kindness.

The king's palace is built of coral rock, and is only half finished; it already seems to be in a somewhat dilapidated state, and exhibits poverty rather than regal magnificence.

The town of Lahaina is built along the beach for a distance of three quarters of a mile: it is principally composed of grass-houses, situated as near the beach as possible: it has one principal street,



with a few others running at right angles. After the king's palace, the fort is the most conspicuous object: its form is quadrangular, the longest side facing the sea: it is of little account, however, as a defence, serving chiefly to confine unruly subjects and sailors. The area within is about one acre, and the walls are twenty feet high.

I had the pleasure of receiving his majesty on board, with suitable honours, accompanied by his suite. They made a very respectable appearance; and although what I had already seen of the king had greatly prepossessed me in his favour, a visit which I paid him before my departure tended greatly to increase the interest I felt for his welfare. Instead of being received in the dilapidated and half-finished palace, I was ushered over a small causeway to a short distance behind it, into his private apartments, and introduced to his wife, who had been very unwell. She is not acknowledged as queen. She is the daughter of an inferior chief on the island of Hawaii, and the prettiest woman on the island. The king, it is believed, married her from affection, and against the wishes of his chiefs, after they had prohibited his marriage with his sister, Nahienaena.

After crossing the causeway we reached a small island: on this was a grass-house of moderate dimensions, surrounded by hibiscus trees, which grow quite low, and make a bower almost impervious to the sun's rays. At the entrance of the house I was met by his majesty, dressed in a roundabout of blue cloth, and white pantaloons. He led the way into the bower, in the centre of which his wife was lying in a clean white hammock, suspended between the trees. Everything about her was pleasant-looking, betokening care and attention to her comfort, and a degree of refinement I little expected to see. Although unwell, she showed many marks of beauty, and I was much struck with her appearance.

The king told me these were their private apartments, where they could remain undisturbed and free from intrusion. They passed most of their time together, and he pointed out a small hut of ti-leaves that he had constructed for her, in which she had been lying on new-mown grass.

The little domestic scene I had witnessed, gave me great pleasure, the more so from being quite unexpected; and I found afterwards that very few are ever admitted to this sanctum sanctorum. I take pleasure in mentioning it, as I had not before given his majesty credit for the domestic virtues.

Wishing to inspect the female seminary at Wailuku, which I had heard much spoken of, I went over to it, in company with Mr. Drayton. One of the chiefs was obliging enough to furnish us with horses for the occasion.

The seminary of Wailuku consists of an extensive range of coral and adobe buildings, beautifully situated on an inclined plane, with high and massive precipices behind, in a flourishing village, which shows more of systematic improvement and organised exertion than any place I have met with in the Hawaiian Islands. The fields, also, are better fenced, and the crops more diligently attended to. The establishment consists of eighty scholars, between the ages of twelve and eighteen years. Every opportunity was afforded me of inspecting

the establishment, and while I found much to commend, there were many things I could have desired to see changed.

The avowed object of this establishment is to educate the daughters of Hawaii as wives for the young men who are educated at Lahaina-luna. They are fed and clothed by the Missionary Society, and it is proposed that they shall remain at the establishment until they be married.

One courtship has already taken place by letters; and I was informed these were the first love-letters that had ever been written in this group.

This whole establishment does great credit to those who are engaged in rearing it up, on account of the method and perseverance with which it is carried on. It is extremely gratifying to see efforts of this kind made, but I cannot help doubting the policy of not allowing any of the burden of it to fall upon the natives themselves (the parents). As long as the children are educated and maintained gratis, the natives will never make any exertions to furnish the means.

Previous to leaving Lahaina, I had despatched Lieutenant Budd, in charge of two boats, and it was to one of these an accident occurred. Lieutenant Budd gave the following account of it:

At ten o'clock on the 9th of March, they left the ship, when it was blowing a moderate breeze, and steered for the south point of Kahoolawe. After they had proceeded some distance on their way, it fell calm for a short time, and then the trade-wind set in strong from the northward and eastward, and soon increased to a stiff gale, the sea rising to a dangerous height for the boats. Just after doubling the point of Kahoolawe, Passed Midshipman May, in the Leopard, hailed Lieutenant Budd, to report that his boat was sinking; and four of the men were perceived to be baling. Lieutenant Budd pulled alongside, and seeing the boat was settling, ordered the anchor to be dropped. Most of the crew continued to bale with their hats, whilst the rest passed out the most important articles. A portion of the Leopard's crew, who could not swim, were now ordered to get into the Greyhound; Lieutenant Budd intending to land them and return for those on the wreck. The men who were thus left said that the boat was drifting to sea, and wished to be taken off; but this would have endangered the lives of all. Passed Midshipman May, perceiving their unwillingness to remain, jumped overboard and joined them; his example encouraged them to do their best. Lieutenant Budd succeeded in as short a time as possible in landing the men and articles from his boat, and then returned. He found the boat sinking fast, and the officer and men supporting themselves with the oars. The boat was now turning over and over as every wave struck her. Mr. May and the rest of the men were taken on board, and they then returned to the shore, all much exhausted. Lieutenant Budd, seeing that the side of the boat had been stove in by a heavy sea, and the impossibility of saving or being able to repair the boat, left her to her fate, and took such measures as he found necessary for the comfort of his men. Lieutenant Budd deserves much credit for his presence of mind in preserving the lives of the men intrusted

to him, as well as protecting them afterwards from unnecessary exposure.

Kahoolawe, the island they were now on, lies to the west of the south end of Maui, and is fourteen miles long by five miles wide. It is uninhabited, except by a few poor fishermen, and is used as a place of exile: at this time there was one state prisoner confined in it. Lieutenant Budd returned to the ship on the 15th.

I visited, in company with some of the officers, the seminary of Lahainaluna, situated on the hill behind the town, and about two miles distant from it. The road thither was partly made by the pupils of the seminary. We found the students at work along this road, making stone walls. Many of them were large boys or young men. Their mode of working was not systematic, and every one appeared to be doing what he thought best; they did not appear to be identified with their work, but seemed more like a rabble.

We noticed an air of neglect, particularly in the out-buildings. The garden also was in bad order; indeed, nothing succeeds well in it, because its situation is too high for irrigation, which in this climate is absolutely necessary. The soil is composed of a red clay, which in dry weather forms a fine dust, covering everything, and which the daily winds continually raise into clouds. These circumstances present an obstacle to one of the great objects of the institution, while the scarcity of water prevents the inculcation of habits of personal cleanliness, of which the natives stand in great need.

In all the departments of this establishment I saw nothing but ill-directed means, and a waste of funds that might have been avoided by proper forethought, and a full examination of the subject by practical men. The school has passed its meridian, and is now fast going to decay, a fact which must strike every one on a casual visit. The discipline of the scholars is loose and irregular; they are their own rulers, and make their own laws; in this respect it may be called a republican school. The scholars act by committees, and without the knowledge or consent of their teachers, in everything that concerns themselves and their apartments. As may be supposed, they are left to settle their own disputes, and little discipline of any kind exists.

The roadstead of Lahaina is the great resort of our whalers. The chief reason is, that their crews are more easily kept in order, and have not that temptation to visit the shore that is experienced at Honolulu; besides, provisions are in greater plenty, particularly potatoes, which are raised in abundance on the islands of Maui.

Lahaina contains about three thousand inhabitants. More order reigns than in any other town of the same size I have seen in Polynesia. This is to be attributed to the influence exerted by the authorities and to the absence of foreigners, and their attendant grog-shops.

The district of Wailuku is composed of valley and upland. The soil in the former is extremely rich and well watered; the upland,

also, produces good crops when sufficient moisture can be had. Potatoes, corn, sugar-cane, and sweet potatoes are the chief products of the windward side of the island.

In some places there are extensive woods, the trees in which are of large size; but the timber is of little value, being either soft and spongy, or hard and difficult to work. Of the former kinds the natives make their canoes.

The district of Kula, on East Maui, although extremely rough and rocky, has a loamy, rich, and productive soil: it produces the finest Irish potatoes, turnips, corn, melons, and wheat. The latter of an excellent quality, is found growing wild. It was introduced about twenty years before our visit, planted, and not the least attention paid to it; instead, however, of "running out," it has increased.

The isthmus is too dry to be fit for cultivation: it is in extent about twenty by fifteen miles. During nine months of the year, it is a fine grazing country, and feeds large herds of cattle, that are mostly owned by foreigners.

In industry and enterprise, the natives of this island have made but slow progress, though there is abundant evidence that they possess both, if properly developed.

The climate of Maui is healthy, and no diseases prevail.

The north coast of East Maui is a succession of deep ravines, which gradually diminish in breadth as they ascend, and are finally lost on the flanks of the mountains: travelling along the coast, in consequence, becomes almost impossible. Cascades are seen falling in these ravines several hundred feet in height, having little volume of water however.

The face of Mauna Haleakala is somewhat like that of Mauna Kea; it is destitute of trees to the height of about two thousand feet; then succeeds a belt of forest, to the height of six thousand feet, and again, the summit, which is cleft by a deep gorge, is bare.

Our party found many interesting plants as they ascended Mauna Haleakala, among which were two species of *Pelargonium*, one with dark crimson, the other with lilac flowers; the *Argyroziphium* began to disappear as they ascended, and its place was taken up by the silky species which is only found at high altitudes. Near the summit they found shrubby plants, consisting of *Epacris*, *Vaccinium*, *Edwardsia*, *Compositæ*, and various *rubiceous* plants.

On their arrival at the edge of the crater, on the summit, the clouds were driving with great velocity through it, and completely concealed its extent. The height, as ascertained by the barometer, was ten thousand two hundred feet. The limit-line of woods was ascertained to be at six thousand five hundred feet.

The crater of Haleakala, if so it may be called, is a deep gorge, open at the north and east, forming a kind of elbow: the bottom of it, as ascertained by the barometer, was two thousand seven hundred and eighty-three feet below the summit peak, and two thousand and ninety-three feet below the wall. Although its sides are steep, yet a descent is practicable at almost any part of it. The inside of the

crater was entirely bare of vegetation, and from its bottom arose some large hills of scoria and sand. Some of the latter of an ochre-red colour at the summit, with small craters in the centre. All bore the appearance of volcanic action, but the natives have no tradition of an eruption. It was said, however, that in former times the dread goddess Pele had her habitation here, but was driven out by the sea, and then took up her abode on Hawaii, where she has ever since remained. Can this legend refer to a time when the volcanoes of Maui were in activity?

Of the origin of the name Mauna Haleakala, or the House of the Sun, I could not obtain any information. Some of the residents thought it might be derived from the sun rising from over it to the people of West Maui, which it does at some seasons of the year.

Our gentlemen descended into the crater. The break to the north appears to have been occasioned by the violence of volcanic action within. There does not appear any true lava stream on the north, but there is a cleft or valley which has a steep descent: here the soil was found to be of a spongy nature, and many interesting plants were found, among the most remarkable of which was the arborescent geranium.

The floor of the crater, in the north branch, is extremely rough, and about two miles wide at the apex, which extends to the sea. In the ravines there is much compact argillaceous rock, similar to what had been observed on Mauna Kea, retaining, like it, pools of water. The rock, in general, was much less absorbent than on the mountains of Hawaii.

Mr. Drayton made an accurate drawing or plan of the crater, the distances on which are estimated, but the many cross bearings serve to make its relative proportions correct. Perhaps the best idea that can be given of the size of this cavity, is by the time requisite to make a descent into it, being one hour, although the depth is only two thousand feet. The distance from the middle to either opening was upwards of five miles; that to the eastward was filled with a line of hills of scoria, some of them five or six hundred feet high; under them was lying a lava stream, that, to appearance, was nearly horizontal, so gradual was its fall.

The operation of foreign opinions upon the natives is very evident; they are more prone to take knowledge and advice from the books that are circulated among them, than strangers are apt to believe. Their gambling propensities appear to have been very difficult to overcome; yet from the simple sentence, "Do not gamble," having been printed in the first books circulated among them, that expression has become almost proverbial, and many have in consequence been restrained from indulging in gaming to excess, while some have abandoned the practice altogether.

From the inquiries I made on the subject of their vices, I am satisfied that these have been much overrated by both residents and missionaries, and I fully believe that these natives are as susceptible of correct impressions as any other people.

The people of Hawaii consider themselves superior to those of

the other islands; next to them rank the natives of Maui and Oahu while Kauai is looked upon as the most inferior.

I was much amused to hear that when one of the teachers of the seminary gave out to the class as a theme, "Whether it was right for parents to give away their children?" all belonging to it took the affirmative side! It is not to be supposed that their reasons were very strong, but it was said the principal one urged was the difficulty of travelling with them, and procuring food; this practice having prevailed from time immemorial, they no doubt endeavoured to find reasons to justify it.

In the opinion of a native, the most distant relationship or connection justifies him in calling on and receiving entertainment. They not only consider that they have a right to partake of the hospitality, but speak of it as a great convenience; so that in choosing a wife or husband, one who has many relations is a more desirable match on this account than one who has few. This custom also causes more intercourse between the islands than would otherwise take place, and their small vessels seldom pass from one to the other, without being well filled with passengers.

Among the visits I paid at Lahaina, was one to the regent Kekauluohi, who receives visitors during certain hours of the day. She lives in a grass-hut near the water, and has several chiefs in attendance on her: she appears to be a good-natured and contented person, and has adopted some foreign customs in her way of living. She is not spoken of as being equal to her sisters, Kaahumanu or Kinau.

On the 17th of March we took leave of our friends, and at noon got under way and bore away for Oahu. Passing to the southward of Lanai, though at the distance of twenty miles, we felt the effects of its highlands upon the winds.

Lanai is a dome-shaped island, and appears to have been frequently rent, large fissures being apparent on its sides. It is exclusively of volcanic formation.

After passing Lanai, we came to Molokai. It is about forty miles long and nine miles in width. One-third of the island, towards the western end, is a barren waste, not susceptible of cultivation, except in the rainy season; it has in consequence few inhabitants, who are engaged mostly in fishing. The eastern two-thirds are almost one entire mountain, rising gradually from the south, until it attains an elevation of two thousand five hundred feet; while on the north it is almost perpendicular.

On the south side, it has a narrow strip of land, not exceeding one-fourth of a mile in width, the soil of which is very rich, and which contains the greater part of the population. Owing to the want of moisture, however, few plants will thrive even here; resort is therefore had to the uplands, which are found to be susceptible of the highest degree of cultivation.

The amount of arable land, or that susceptible of cultivation, is believed by the missionaries to be one-fourth; but I should be inclined to reduce it to one-eighth, from the report of others, and my own observations. Only about one-tenth of this is cultivated.

The population of the island was reported as five thousand in 1840; eight years prior, in 1832, it was six thousand: during this time five hundred marriages took place. The data has shown, that the births much exceed the deaths; and the decrease is attributed to emigration, which has been going on for some time. The inhabitants are all poor, and their pastor, the Rev. Mr. Hitchcock, asserts, that there are not ten individuals on the island who have comfortable clothing and sufficient food; and he adds, that there has been no improvement in their dwellings for the last ten years.

The schools on this island are little more than a name; for they have neither regular teachers nor school-houses. One thousand scholars are said to be embodied in them.

The island has been occupied as a missionary station since 1832, and the church contains about three hundred members.

On the 18th we anchored off Honolulu, at an early hour. The appearance of the island was much more fertile, now that the winter had passed. There being no letters from home, was a disappointment to us all. We were again warmly welcomed by our friends and countrymen.

On the 19th we went in and anchored in the outer harbour, where, on the 23rd, we were joined by the Porpoise.

On the 16th November, 1840, as has been before stated, the Porpoise left Oahu. In addition to her crew, a number of Kanakas were shipped for the purpose of being employed, under the direction of an officer, on one of the coral islands, to bore through the coral rock.

The first shoal searched for was that of Manuel Rodriguez; its supposed locality was passed over, and no indications whatever of it were seen.

On the 15th December they reached Aratica, or Carlshoff Island, on which it was determined to land the party intended to experiment in boring, consisting of fifteen men, under Lieutenant Johnson, among whom were nine Kanakas and three seamen, the armourer, with his forge, and a carpenter.

By the 18th they had succeeded in completing all the arrangements, when the brig left them to pursue her cruise for thirty or forty days to the windward part of the group. She then visited Vincennes, Raraka, and Saken Islands. To the southward of Saken, they found and surveyed the Sea-Gull Group.

On the 23rd, they went in search of the island of Raroia, or Barclay de Tolly, and Takurea, or Wolconsky, which is in sight of Raroia. The former, Wolconsky, is of an oblong shape, ten miles in circumference; its north end is high and thickly wooded with cocoa-nut groves and other trees: its eastern boundary is partly a submerged reef.

The search after Camboy's and Merrill Islands proved unsuccessful.

On the 5th January, 1841, they passed near Taweree, or Resolution Island. There were about twenty inhabitants, who on the approach of the brig came running to the beach with cocoa-nuts to barter. They appeared to be stout men, and were thought to resemble the natives seen at Clermont de Tonnerre.

Tawere consists of two small isles, together about four miles in circumference.

On the 6th, Nukutipipi, or Margaret's Island, was seen. It is a small, round lagoon island, two miles in circumference, high and well wooded on the north side, with a flat submerged reef on the south-east and east sides. Teku, or the Four Crowns of Quiros, was the next island to the westward. No traces of inhabitants were seen on either of these islands.

The island of Archangel is a small lagoon island, of oblong shape, wooded on the north-east and east with a stunted growth of trees. No cocoa-nut trees were seen, and the eastern portion of the trees appeared as if burnt. A reef extends off the north-west and south-west sides, with a heavy surf, and there is a submerged reef on the south and west sides. Its native name is Heretua.

On the 12th, the island of San Pablo was made. This island is higher than those just mentioned; it has several cocoa-nut groves, and natives were seen on the island.

After searching around this locality for other islands the Porpoise steered to the northward for the island of Aratica (Carlschoff). They made the island of Tahanea: its south end is a bare reef, but there are trees on the east and west sides. Fires were seen after dark on the island. This, like all the other islands, has small islets around it, connected by low coral reefs, and washed by the sea in several places.

Passing in sight of Saken, Raraka, and Taiara, they returned to Aratica on the 18th, where they found the party all well, and embarked them on the 19th. The Porpoise then sailed for Tahiti, two hundred and fifty miles distant, and anchored in Matavai Bay on the 21st of January.

The boring experiments turned out very much as I anticipated, viz.: that we should find but little coral sand, and an occasional stratum of coral rock. Since my return I have seen the results of a similar experiment made by Captain Belcher, on another island (Hau or Bow Island), in the same group. They are identical with ours.

Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold left Tahiti on the 6th of February, and continued his search for the islands that had been pointed out in his instructions. Flint's Island was first seen. It is of small size, being only one mile and a half in length, and thickly wooded: high breakers extended off its point for some distance, and made it impossible to land with a boat. No inhabitants were seen.

The next island searched for was Staver's Island. It was discovered on the 8th, and proved to be a low sandy islet with a lagoon. It is well wooded, half a mile in diameter, of oval shape, with heavy breakers surrounding it. They next bore away for the position of Penrhyn Island, and passed over the supposed site of Teinhoven Island, without seeing any signs of land. Proceeding further to the north-west, they, on the 15th, discovered Penrhyn's Island, about thirty miles west of its place on Arrowsmith's chart. It was of the usual coral formation, low, and densely covered with trees, among which the cocoa-nut was the most conspicuous.



On the 16th, at sunrise, canoes were discovered approaching the brig, in great numbers, many of them large. At seven o'clock, two came alongside, and others soon followed them. As the numbers of the visitors increased, they became more bold, and clambered up the sides, uttering loud and savage yells. They were the wildest and most savage-looking beings that had been met with, vociferating in a frightful manner, and accompanying their exclamations with the most violent contortions and gesticulations: they seemed frantic with excitement. These natives were quite naked, except a few who had on a small maro of cocoa-nut leaves.

Penrhyn Island was by estimate fifty feet high, and was found to be nine miles long, north-north-east and south-south-west, and about five miles wide, with an extensive lagoon, having in it many coral patches. On the north-west side there appears to be a continuous village, with cocoa-nut groves throughout its whole extent, and the island is evidently very thickly peopled.

Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold induced one of the natives to come on board for a hatchet, to get information from him; but he proved so wild, and was so much amazed, that he did nothing but leap about, constantly uttering exclamations.

It was now deemed impossible to extend the cruise to the Isles of Danger, agreeably to the instructions, on account of want of time and scarcity of provisions. This cruise would also have embraced the western position of Flint's and other islands. Compelled to forego this part of his intended task, he stood to the northward; and on the evening of the 24th of March, anchored off Honolulu, after an absence of four months and nine days, only eight of which were passed in port.

The results of this cruise of the Porpoise were satisfactory to me, although it had been found impossible to carry out all the duties embraced in her instructions. The performance of those that were accomplished was attended with much fatigue, from the adverse state of the weather. Had I been at liberty, or had time allowed, I should have gladly chosen another season for it. With suitable weather, there would have been ample time to accomplish the whole.

From the report of Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold, relative to the Porpoise, and on examination of her bottom, the copper was found so far gone as to make it necessary to re-copper her. This cause of detention was unlooked for, and I had been in hopes to give her crew a short relaxation; but there was no opportunity for it. The necessity of a speedy departure admitted of no delay. She was according hauled into the wharf, the work set speedily about, and the brig again prepared for sea.

## CHAPTER XI.

## OREGON.

Departure from Oahu—Bar of the Columbia River—Point Grenville—Destruction Isle—Straits of Juan de Fuca—Indians visit the Ship—Port Discovery—Port Townsend—Port Lawrence—Pilot's Cove—Fort Nisqually—Anchorage off Nisqually—Expedition to the Columbia River—Cowlitz River—Oak Point—Astoria—Vancouver—Willamette Valley—Mode of catching Salmon—Salmon Fisheries—The Dalles—Return to Nisqually—Progress of the Surveying Parties.



COMPLETING our repairs on the 5th of April, 1841, we made arrangements for the transportation of our stores to the Columbia River. Towards sunset we took leave of our kind and numerous friends, and the same night at 11h. 30m. we made sail, and steered to the westward, in order to pass between the islands of Oahu and Kauai.

On the 28th of April, we made Cape Disappointment, which we soon came up with. A heavy sea, caused by the strong winds that had prevailed for several days, was running. I, notwithstanding, stood for the bar of the Columbia River, after making every preparation to cross it; but on approaching nearer, I found breakers extending from Cape Disappointment to Point Adams, in one unbroken line.

Mere description can give little idea of the terrors of the bar of the Columbia: all who have seen it have spoken of the wildness of the scene, and the incessant roar of the waters, representing it as one of the most fearful sights that can possibly meet the eye of the sailor. The difficulty of its channel, the distance of the leading sailing marks, their uncertainty to one unacquainted with them, the want of knowledge of the strength and direction of the currents, with the necessity of approaching close to unseen dangers, the transition from clear to turbid water, all cause doubt and mistrust.

Under such feelings I must confess that I felt myself labouring; and although I had on board a person from the Sandwich Islands

who professed to be a Columbia River pilot, I found him at a loss to designate the true passage, and unable to tell whether we were in a right way or not. I therefore, at once, determined to haul off with the tide, which was running ebb with great rapidity, and which soon carried us back into the blue water of the ocean, to wait there until the sea on the bar had in some measure subsided.

The land near the mouth of the river is well marked, and cannot readily be mistaken, and on the summit of the two capes are several lofty spruce and pine trees, which the officers of the Hudson Bay Company have caused to be trimmed of branches nearly to their tops. These serve as conspicuous marks, but our pilot was ignorant of their relation to the channel.

During the night, I took into consideration the loss of time that must arise from awaiting an opportunity to cross the bar, and after due reflection came to the conclusion that it would be better to proceed at once to the Straits of Juan de Fuca, and there begin my work on this coast. At daylight, therefore, I spoke the Porpoise, and immediately we bore away to the northward. Both vessels then proceeded at the rate of eight or ten miles an hour.

The weather was very thick, and the wind south-south-west. At ten o'clock the Porpoise was close under our lee-quarter. I was myself below, when I was informed by the officer of the deck that we had entered disturbed water. A number of birds were around the vessels, and a cast of the lead gave fifteen fathoms. By the time I reached the deck, land was seen through the haze, close aboard. The ship was at once brought by the wind and all the studding sails taken in, and we both narrowly escaped shipwreck.

The weather before long cleared up sufficiently to give us a view of the land, which proved to be Point Grenville of Vancouver, and Destruction Isle.

On the 30th, I was in hopes that the wind would have enabled us to reach Neah Harbour ere night; but as we approached Cape Flattery and opened the Straits of Fuca, it became contrary. We were therefore compelled to pass the night, which proved dark and rainy, under way, with little knowledge of the dangers which might surround us.

On the morning of the 1st of May, we found ourselves well into the straits; and as I proposed to defer the survey of this part of them until my return, we hastened to reach Port Discovery, where we anchored on the 2nd of May; just forty-nine years after Vancouver had visited the same harbour.

The Straits of Juan de Fuca are bold, and anchorage is to be found in but few places. We could not obtain bottom in some places with sixty fathoms of line, even within a boat's length of the shore.

The south shore is composed of perpendicular sandy cliffs, that run back into high and rugged peaks, and is covered with a forest of various species of pines, that rises almost to the highest points of the range of mountains. The highest points themselves are

covered with snow; and among them Mount Olympus was conspicuous, rising to an altitude of eight thousand one hundred and thirty-eight feet.

The north shore is rocky, and composed, as far as we could examine it, of conglomerate, and in some few places of a reddish granite.

In the morning we were boarded by a large canoe, with Indians who spoke a few words of English. The principal man of the party was dressed in a coarse coat of red cloth, with the Hudson Bay Company's buttons, and corduroy trousers. He had neither shirt, shoes, nor hat, although the rain was falling fast. The others were habited in blankets or skins, and wore conical grass hats, resembling in shape those of the Chinese.

The first inquiry was, whether we were Boston or King George's ships, by which terms they distinguish Americans and English.

They brought with them for sale some fish and a few furs. On the latter they appeared to set a high value, and were not a little disappointed when they learned that we had no desire to purchase them. They readily parted with their fine fish for a few fish-hooks and a little tobacco.

It was amusing to us, who had no very exalted opinion of the Feejeeans, to observe the contempt our prisoner Vendovi entertained for these Indians, which was such that he would hardly deign to look at them.

The description of Vancouver is so exactly applicable to the present state of Port Discovery, that it was difficult to believe that half a century had elapsed since it was written. The beautiful woods and lawns of Protection Island, in particular, exist unchanged. The lawns still produce the same beautiful flowers and shrubs, and although closely surrounded by dense woods, do not seem to have been encroached upon by their luxuriant growth, although there is no apparent reason why it should not long ere this have overrun them.

Port Discovery is a well-protected harbour, and very convenient of access, but the depth of water and the high precipitous banks will preclude its being made the seat of a settlement.

It is eight miles long, two miles in average width, and its points, which terminate in low sandy projections, interlock each other. The shores are supplied with large quantities of shell-fish. Protection Island covers it completely to the north, and would render it easily defensive against the most formidable attack.

The Indians whom we found dwelling here are of the Clalam tribe. They occupy a few miserable lodges on one of the points, and are a most filthy race, so much so indeed that to enter their lodges is absolutely disgusting. They are no more than a few rudely-cut slabs, covered in part by coarse mats.

We remained at Port Discovery until the 6th of May, during which time we were employed in surveying the harbour and exploring the country. Our botanists had a large and interesting field opened to them, and there are few places where the variety and beauty of the flora are so great as they are here. The soil

consists of a light brown loam, but its general character around Port Discovery is a thin, black, vegetable mould, with a substratum of sand and gravel.

Soon after our arrival, I dispatched an Indian with a letter to the fort of the Hudson Bay Company at Nisqually, at the upper end of Puget Sound, to request that a pilot might be sent me. My interview with the native whom I employed for this purpose was amusing. He appeared of a gay and lively disposition: the first thing he did, when brought into the cabin, was to show me a cross and repeat his ave, which he did with great readiness and apparent devotion; but he burst into loud laughter as soon as he had finished repeating it. He and I made many efforts to understand each other, but without much success, except so far as the transmission of the letter to Fort Nisqually, and the reward he was to receive on his return.

On the 6th of May, finding that the messenger whom I had dispatched to Fort Nisqually did not return, I determined to proceed towards that place without further delay. We therefore got under way, entered Admiralty Inlet, and soon anchored in Port Townsend, on its northern side.

Port Townsend is a fine sheet of water, three miles and a quarter in length, by one mile and three-quarters in width. Opposite to our anchorage was an extensive table-land, free from wood, and which would afford a good site for a town.

On the 7th we moved up about eight miles, and anchored, in what I called Port Lawrence. This is just at the entrance of Hood's Canal, and gave us a view both of it and Admiralty Inlet.

On the morning of the 8th we proceeded up Admiralty Inlet as far as Pilot's Cove, opposite the south end of Whidby's Island.

On the 9th we were under way soon after daylight, taking advantage of the tide, and at dark anchored under the west shore, in Port Madison. This is an excellent harbour, affording every possible convenience for shipping.

On the 10th we again passed up Admiralty Inlet, taking the passage to the right of Vashon's Island, and finally, towards evening, anchored just below the narrows leading into Puget Sound, within a few yards of the shore and under a high perpendicular bank, in sixteen fathoms.

The shores of all these inlets and bays are remarkably bold; so much so, that in many places a ship's sides would strike the shore before the keel would touch the ground.

On the 11th of May we again weighed our anchors, and sailed through the narrows. The scenery about this pass becomes very fine: on all sides are high projecting bluffs of sandstone, rising almost perpendicularly from the water. The tide, which runs through the narrows with great velocity, causes many eddies and whirlpools, through which a ship is carried with extraordinary rapidity, while the danger seems to be imminent. We were carried onward wholly by the force of the tide, and had backed and filled only once before we found ourselves in as spacious a sound as the one we had just left. This narrow pass seems as if

intended by its natural facilities to afford every means for its perfect defence.

Twelve miles more brought us to the anchorage off Nisqually, where both vessels dropped their anchors about eight o'clock. Soon after we anchored, I had the pleasure of a visit from Mr. Anderson, who was in charge of the fort, and Captain M'Niel. They gave me a warm welcome, and offered every assistance in their power to aid me in my operations.

Nothing can exceed the beauty of these waters, and their safety; and not a shoal exists within the Straits of Juan de Fuca, Admiralty Inlet, Puget Sound, or Hood's Canal, that can in any way interrupt their navigation by a seventy-four gun ship. I venture nothing in saying, there is no country in the world that possesses waters equal to these.

The shore rises abruptly to a height of about two hundred feet, and on the top of the ascent is an extended plain, covered with pine, oak, and ash. Fort Nisqually, with its out-buildings and enclosure, stands back about half a mile from the edge of the table-land.

Our preparations occupied us until the 15th. The Porpoise, with two of the Vincennes's boats, took up the survey of Admiralty Inlet: the launch, first cutter, and two boats of the Vincennes, the survey of Hood's Canal. The land parties intended to explore the interior, were allowed eighty days for the explorations.

The establishment of an observatory also claimed my attention: a suitable site was found on the top of the hill within hail of the ship. Here the instruments and clocks were landed, and put up in a small clearing.

Fort Nisqually is constructed of pickets, enclosing a space about two hundred feet square, with four corner bastions. Within this enclosure are the agents' stores, and about half-a-dozen houses, built of logs, and roofed with bark. This fort was considered quite large when it was first established, but since it has become an agricultural post as well as a trading one, it is found to be too small. Its locality is also ill chosen, on account of the difficulty of obtaining water, which has to be brought from a distance of nearly a mile. There was now little necessity for any sort of protection against the Indians, who are but few in number, and very peaceably disposed.

Having seen the parties all off, or ready to start, our party set out. It was a strange cavalcade, for most of us were but sorry horsemen, and we had every variety of accoutrements, from the saddle and bridle to the bare back and halter. We were eight in number; Messrs. Drayton, Waldron, and myself, two servants, two Indians, and a Canadian guide, with four pack-horses. All the horses and the guide were kindly furnished us by the gentlemen at the fort, to carry us as far as Cowlitz Farms, about sixty miles distant, where we intended taking canoes.

The direction of our route was nearly south over the plain, passing occasionally a pretty lawn, and groves of oak and ash trees.

The park scenery increased in beauty as we proceeded. It was almost impossible to realise that we were in a savage and wild

country, and that nature, not art, had perfected the landscape. Beautiful lakes, with greensward growing to the water edge, with deer feeding fearlessly on their margin, and every tint of flower, many of which were not new to our gardens at home, strewn in profusion around; we could hardly, in galloping along, but expect to see some beautiful mansion, as a fit accompaniment to such scenery.

The magnificent pine, so often mentioned by travellers, lies prostrate near the tomb of the hospitable chief Concomely, now in ruins. The chief's skull, it is believed, is in Glasgow, having been long since removed by Gardner.



CONCOMELY'S TOMB.

On the second day we arrived at the Cowlitz Farms, on the river of that name, which takes its rise in the Cascade Range, near Mount Rainier, and has many short turns in it. Its banks, until it approaches the Columbia, are tolerably high. It is not navigable for barges more than three months in the year. The distance we passed down the Cowlitz did not exceed twenty-six miles, although we had been told that it was more than forty. In the month of September following I examined the Cowlitz, and found it exhibiting

a very different character. A few miles above its mouth there was not water enough to float even a boat, and it was besides filled with rapids.

The Columbia, where the Cowlitz joins it, is a broad flowing stream, and was at this time much swollen.

About ten miles lower down, we passed Oak Point, where the river turns nearly at right angles, taking its course along a barrier of trap rocks, which it here meets on its west side, and which rises eight hundred feet perpendicularly above its surface. On the other side of the river is one of the remarkable prairies of the country, covered with tall waving grass, and studded with many oaks, from which the point takes its name. What adds additional interest and beauty to the scene is Mount St. Helen's, which may be seen from the sea when eighty miles distant; its height I made nine thousand five hundred and fifty feet.

By sunset we had reached Termination Island, and at 10 o'clock, on a very dark night, we reached our destination, and might now make our escape from the confined and irksome position in the canoe we had been in a whole day. Mr. Birnie, the agent of the Hudson Bay Company, met us at the landing, with lanterns and every assistance, and gave us a truly Scotch welcome. We soon found ourselves in his quarters, where in a short time a fire was burning brightly, and his hospitable board spread with good cheer, although it was past midnight. After partaking of the supper, blankets were furnished us, and we were made exceedingly comfortable for the night.

In the morning we had a view of the somewhat famous Astoria, which is anything but what I should wish to describe. Half-a-dozen log-houses, with as many sheds and a pig-sty or two, are all that it can boast of, and even these appear to be rapidly going to decay.

The Company pay little regard to it, and the idea of holding or improving it as a post has long since been given up. The headquarters of their operations have been removed to Vancouver, eighty miles further up the river, since which Astoria has merely been held for the convenience of their vessels. It boasts of but one field, and that was in potatoes, which I can, however, vouch for as being very fine. In former times it had its gardens, forts and banquetting halls; and from all accounts, when it was the headquarters of the North-west Company, during their rivalry with the Hudson Bay Company, there was as jovial a set residing here as ever were met together.

In point of beauty of situation, few places will vie with Astoria. It is situated on the south side of the Columbia River, eleven miles from Cape Disappointment, as the crow flies. From Astoria there is a fine view of the high promontory of Cape Disappointment, and the ocean bounding it on the west; the Chinook Hills and Point Ellice, with its rugged peak, on the north; Tongue Point and Katalamet Range on the east; and a high background, bristling with lofty pines, to the south. The ground rises from the river gradually to the top of a ridge five hundred feet in elevation. This



was originally covered with a thick forest of pines: that part reclaimed by the first occupants is again growing up in brushwood. From all parts of the ground the broad surface of the river is in view. The stillness is remarkable, and makes it evident that one is yet far removed from civilised life: the distant though distinct roar of the ocean is the only sound that is heard; this, however, is almost incessant; for the stream, though rushing onwards in silence to meet the ocean, keeps up an eternal war with it on the bar, producing at times scenes of extraordinary grandeur.

The Columbia, opposite to Astoria, is four miles wide, but in the middle of the river is an extensive sand-bar, with only a few feet water on it, and at extreme low tides it is bare: the channel is very narrow on each side, and difficult to navigate. At Astoria there is only space for a dozen vessels to lie at anchor, and it would therefore be difficult to accommodate any extensive trade. The point of land extends about half a mile below its site, where Young's River joins the Columbia, and forms a bay.

The country lying north of the Columbia, between the Cowlitz and Cape Disappointment, is generally rough and rugged, with numerous streams of water, and in many places a rich soil: it is extremely well timbered, and is capable, when cleared, of growing grain, and other agricultural produce.

I witnessed the Columbia at its greatest and least heights, and no idea can be formed of it unless seen at both these epochs. The flood is a very grand sight from the banks of the river at Vancouver, as it passes swiftly by, bearing along the gigantic forest trees, whose immense trunks appear as mere chips. They frequently lodge for a time, in which case others are speedily caught by them, which, obstructing the flow of the water, form rapids, until by a sudden rush the whole is borne off to the ocean, and in time lodged by the currents on some remote and savage island, to supply the natives with canoes.

From the circumstance of this annual inundation of the river prairies, they will always be unfit for husbandry, yet they are admirably adapted for grazing, except during the periods of high water. There is no precaution that can prevent the inroad of the water. At Vancouver they were at the expense of throwing up a long embankment of earth, but without the desired effect. It has been found that the crop of grain suffers in proportion to the quantity of the stalk immersed; unless the wheat is completely covered, a partial harvest may be expected.

The waters of the Columbia have no fertilising qualities, which is remarkable when the extent of its course is considered: on the contrary, it is said, from experience, to deteriorate and exhaust the soil. It is, when taken up, quite clear, although it has a turbid look as it flows by. Quantities of fine sand are however borne along, and being deposited in the eddies, rapidly form banks, which alter the channel in places to a great degree.

The situation of Vancouver is favourable for agricultural purposes, and it may be said to be the head of navigation for sea-going vessels. A vessel of fourteen feet draft of water, may reach it in

the lowest state of the river. The Columbia at this point makes a considerable angle, and is divided by two islands, which extend upwards about three miles, to where the upper branch of the Willamette joins it. The shores of these islands are covered with trees, consisting of ash, poplars, pines, and oaks, while the centre is generally prairie, and, lower than the banks : they are principally composed of sand.

The company's establishment at Vancouver is upon an extensive scale, and is worthy of the vast interest of which it is the centre. The residents mess at several tables : one for the chief factor and his clerks ; one for their wives (it being against the regulations of the Company for their officers and wives to take their meals together) ; another for the missionaries ; and another for the sick and the Catholic missionaries. All is arranged in the best order, and I should think with great economy. Everything may be had within the fort ; they have an extensive apothecary's shop, a bakery, blacksmiths' and coopers' shops, trade offices for buying, others for selling, others again for keeping accounts and transacting business ; shops for retail, where English manufactured articles may be purchased at as low a price, if not cheaper, than in the United States, consisting of cotton and woollen goods, ready-made clothing, ship-chandlery, earthen and iron ware, and fancy articles ; in short, everything, and of every kind and description, including all sorts of groceries, at an advance of eighty per cent. on the London prime cost. This is the established price at Vancouver, but at the other posts it is one hundred per cent., to cover the extra expenses of transportation. All these articles are of good quality, and suitable for the servants, settlers, and visitors. Of the quantity on hand, some idea may be formed from the fact that all the posts west of the Rocky Mountains get their annual supplies from this depot.

The Willamette River is generally about one-fourth of a mile wide. For the distance of four miles from its entrance into the Columbia its banks are low, and during the rise of the latter are overflowed, its waters being backed into the Willamette. There is little current to contend with in this river during this season. After passing this low ground, the banks become high and precipitous, and are in only a few places susceptible of cultivation.

At the time of our visit to the falls of Willamette, the salmon fishery was at its height, and was to us a novel as well as an amusing scene. The salmon leap the fall ; and it would be inconceivable, if not actually witnessed, how they can force themselves up, and after a leap of from ten to twelve feet retain strength enough to stem the force of the water above. About one in ten of those who jumped, would succeed in getting by. They are seen to dart out of the foam beneath and reach about two-thirds of the height, at a single bound : those that thus passed the apex of the running water, succeed ; but all that fell short, were thrown back again into the foam. I never saw so many fish collected together before ; and the Indians are constantly employed in taking them. They rig out two stout poles, long enough to project over the foaming cauldron, and secure their larger ends to the rocks. On

the outer end they make a platform for the fisherman to stand on, who is perched on it with a pole thirty feet long in hand, to which the net is fastened by a hoop four feet in diameter; the net is made to slide on the hoop, so as to close its mouth when the fish is taken. The mode of using the net is peculiar: they throw it into the foam as far up the stream as they can reach, and it being then quickly carried down, the fish who are running up in a contrary direction are caught. Sometimes twenty large fish are taken by a single person in an hour; and it is only surprising that twice as many should not be caught.

The river at the falls is three hundred and fifty yards wide, and its greatest fall twenty-five feet. When the water is not very high, the rapids begin some distance above the falls. Some of the Indians are in the habit of coming down in canoes to the brink of the falls, where they secure themselves by thrusting down poles in the crevices of the rock. There they take many fish, that have succeeded in passing the lower fall, with a hook fastened to the end of a pole. These are esteemed to be of the best flavour, as they are the strongest and fattest. It is said from these places the fish can be seen very distinctly passing up, and are taken very rapidly; but few Indians are willing to expose themselves to the risk of fishing there. The number of Indians at the Willamette Falls during the fishing season is about seventy, including all ages and sexes: there are others who visit the falls in canoes for fish, which at times will raise the number to not far from one hundred.

The salmon fishery may be classed as one of the great sources of wealth, for it affords a large amount of food at a very low price, and of the very best quality: it does not extend above the falls. The finest of the salmon are those caught nearest the sea; as they pass up the river they become poorer, and when they reach the tributaries of the upper Columbia, they are exceedingly exhausted, and have their bodies and heads much disfigured and cut, and their tails and fins worn out by contact with the rocks. Many of the salmon in consequence die; these the Indians are in the habit of drying for food, by hanging them on the limbs of trees. This is to preserve them from the wolves, and to be used in time of need, when they are devoured, though rotten and full of maggots. There are four different kinds of salmon, which frequent this river in different months: the latest appears in October, and is the only kind that frequents the Cowlitz River. The finest sort is a dark silvery fish, of large size, three or four feet long, and weighing forty or fifty pounds.

One of the most remarkable places upon the Columbia is called the Dalles. The river is here compressed into a narrow channel, three hundred feet wide, and half a mile long; the walls are perpendicular, flat at the top, and composed of basalt; the river forms an elbow, being situated in an amphitheatre, extending several miles to the north-west, and closed in by a high basaltic wall. From appearances, one is led to conclude that in former times the river made a straight course over the whole; but, having the channel deeper, is now confined within the present limits. Mr. Drayton, on

inquiry of an old Indian, through Mr. Ogden, learned that he believed that in the time of his forefathers they went up straight in their canoes.

The country about the Dalles is broken, and the missionaries report that this is the case for some miles around. There are, however, also some plains and table-lands, which are considered as very valuable, being well watered with springs and small streams; excellent for grazing, and well supplied with timber—oak and pine. The soil varies in quality, and portions of it are very rich. Garden vegetables succeed, but require irrigation. Potatoes also must be watered, by which mode of culture they succeed well. Corn and peas can be raised in sufficient quantities. Wheat produces about twenty-five bushels to the acre; this is not, however, on the best land. They sow in October and March, and harvest begins towards the end of June.

I now returned to Nisqually, and found that news had been received from the various surveying and exploring parties, all of whom it was reported were advancing rapidly in the execution of their duties.



## CHAPTER XII.

## DE FUCA'S STRAITS AND LOSS OF THE PEACOCK.

Fears for the Peacock—Progress of the Surveys—Neah Harbour—Classet Indians—  
De Fuca's Pillar—Cape Disappointment—Particulars of the Loss of the Peacock—  
New Disposition of the Squadron—The Vincennes Sails for San Francisco.



O idea can be given to the reader of the anxieties that beset me when I joined the Vincennes once more on the 16th of June, 1841. Day after day had passed in the anxious expectation of receiving news of the Peacock and Flying-Fish, until a conviction became general, with both officers and crew, that some serious accident had occurred to one or both of them, among the dangerous coral reefs and islands they had been sent to explore. They were now three months later than the time appointed for their arrival at the Columbia River.

For my own part, after reviewing the whole of the duties assigned to Captain Hudson in my instructions, and again estimating the time necessary to fulfil them, I could not but apprehend, from the length to which his voyage was protracted, that disaster had occurred. In this state of feeling, the officers of the Vincennes showed a highly commendable spirit, and aware that additional labours were thus to be thrown upon them, strained every nerve to avoid any further loss of time. The officers of the Porpoise, as I was informed by Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold, manifested an equally praiseworthy spirit.

On the 20th we came to anchor in New Dungeness Roads, where we were joined by the Porpoise agreeable to instructions. The surveying operations of that vessel were then nearly completed.

On the 26th, a messenger arrived with letters from Nisqually,

informing me of the loss of the Peacock, on the bar of the Columbia, but that all hands were saved. This news, although bad, was a great relief to me; for I had feared not only the loss of the vessels, but had serious apprehensions for the lives of the persons on board. A heavy load that had long hung over my mind was removed.

All my plans for the employment of the squadron were now at once to be changed; for it became necessary for me to proceed without delay to afford relief to our shipwrecked companions.

We now completed all that was essential in the surveys for the navigation of the Canal de Arro before we took our departure. This was effected through the strenuous exertions of both officers and men.

On the 29th, I sent an officer with dispatches to Nisqually, to pass across the country to the Cowlitz, and thence down the Columbia to Astoria.

On the 31st, we got under way, and stood down the Straits of De Fuca. Of the northern side of these straits it had been my intention to make a very particular examination, after completing the survey of the Canal de Arro. There is a fine harbour, now called Victoria, near the eastern end of the island, where a post has been lately established by the Hudson Bay Company; that of San Juan, near the mouth of the straits, was surveyed on the 2nd of August by the Porpoise, while the Vincennes was engaged in that of Neah Harbour, lying on the south side of the straits, just within Cape Flattery.

Neah Harbour is but a small indentation in the coast, which is partly sheltered on the north-east by Neah Island. It is the position where the Spaniards attempted to establish themselves in 1672, and which they called Port Nunez Gaona. The remains of an old fort are still to be perceived, and some bricks were found that were supposed to have belonged to it.

The ship, on anchoring, was surrounded by many canoes of the Classet Indians, who inhabit the country around Cape Flattery. George, the chief of the Tatouche tribe, as he terms himself, was on board all day. He speaks a few words of English, and is a fine-looking man. It was difficult to make him or any of his people understand the use of a man-of-war, the number of people on board, and the care that was taken to keep them from coming on board. He showed it by continually asking, "What for so big ship?" "What for so many mans?"—all probably proceeding from his disappointment at not being able to sell his skins.

The Classet tribe of Indians is one of the most numerous on the coast that I had an opportunity of seeing, and seems the most intelligent. These Indians wore small pieces of an iridescent muscle-shell attached to the cartilage of their nose, which was, in some, of the size of a ten cent piece, and triangular in shape. It is generally kept in motion by their breathing. They had seldom any clothing excepting a blanket; but a few, who have contrived to make friends with the visitors, have obtained some old clothes; while others seem to be in the pay of the Hudson Bay Company.

The principal articles of trade are tobacco, powder ("paulalee") and leaden balls. These are preferred to most other merchandise, although more can be obtained for spirits than for any other article.

We had as many as forty canoes alongside on the 3rd, with various articles for sale, including fish, venison, &c. Some of the canoes had as many as twenty persons in them. They were generally a stout, athletic race; and it was observed that the women were much better looking than those of the other tribes. Some of them, indeed, had quite fair complexions and rosy cheeks. They are not as much exposed to the weather as those we had previously seen, being provided with a conical hut, made of grass, and plaited so tight as to be impervious to water, which both protects them from the rain and sun.

It is said that this tribe can muster one thousand warriors, and they have the reputation of being treacherous and warlike. Many of them were fantastically painted, that is, besmeared with oil, soot, and red paint. Their dress consists of a native blanket, made of dog's hair, interspersed with feathers; this is much more highly valued than the bought ones, but is rarely to be obtained. The clamour made by our numerous visitors was very great, and their offers of articles were without much regard to the priority of rank, station, or anything else.

In leaving De Fuca's Straits, I anxiously watched for De Fuca's Pillar, and soon obtained a sight of it.

On the 6th, at Daylight, Cape Disappointment was in sight; and at ten o'clock we were near the cape. The Flying-Fish joined us at noon; when Captain Hudson came on board, and from him I learned the particulars of the loss of the Peacock.

It will be necessary in the first place to state, that at Oahu, Sandwich Islands, previous to the departure of the squadron on their several cruises, I had furnished the Peacock, Porpoise, and tender, with directions for their passing the bar of the Columbia River, which I obtained from Captain Spalding, of the ship *Lausanne*, a vessel of five or six hundred tons' burden, which had just returned from the Columbia, whither she had taken a number of missionaries and their stores. These appeared to be carefully drawn up, and Captain Spalding informed me that they could be depended upon. The fact that so large a ship had been navigated by them, and the report of the master, that he believed them correct, left me no reason to doubt their probable accuracy; although at the time I had some misgivings about them, as they were entirely dependent on compass bearings, and those of objects at great distances. They were, however, the only directions for passing this dangerous bar which were to be had, and were then believed to be the only correct ones in existence. It was supposed, indeed that they had been communicated to the Hudson Bay Company by the officers of H. B. M. surveying vessels *Sulphur* and *Starling*; but of this I had no positive evidence; for, although I met those vessels at the Feejee Islands, I received no communication from them on this subject.

The Peacock made Cape Disappointment on the afternoon of the

17th of July, and throughout the night experienced light airs and calms, accompanied by a dense fog.

On the morning of the 18th, between seven and eight o'clock, the fog cleared off, with the wind from the southward and eastward. Cape Disappointment was then about nine miles distant. At nine they sounded in forty fathoms water; at ten, fifteen; they had but fourteen fathoms when they tacked off shore. It being Sunday, Captain Hudson, as usual, performed divine service, which being finished at 11 h. 50 m., they again tacked to stand in. The tender at this time was several miles to leeward.

At meridian, the wind came out from the southward and westward, with the weather a little cloudy; soon after which time the ship was off the entrance, and all hands were called to work her into port. Lieutenant Emmons was now sent aloft, on the foretop-mast-yard, while Captain Hudson attended personally to the piloting of the ship, agreeably to the directions before spoken of, which he held in his hand. The ship was, according to Captain Hudson's report, running a north-east-quarter-east course, heading to Cape Disappointment, until the proper bearing of Chinook Point east-north-east was reached, when they discovered the sea breaking ahead of them. He now believed himself too far to the southward, wore ship, and ran off a short distance, until clear of the breakers, after which they again stood in, where the passage appeared clear and smooth, both from below and aloft. In less than five minutes, the ship touched. Lieutenant Emmons, who was on the look-out aloft, together with Lieutenant Perry, who was also similarly engaged, both state that they were of opinion that the only place where the channel existed was where the water did not break, and agreeing as it did so nearly with the sailing directions, Captain Hudson did not hesitate to attempt to proceed through the smoother part.

I am well aware that many opinions have been, and probably still are entertained, relative to the prudence of venturing with the ship before the channel had been explored and examined by the tender and boats. This is but natural to one unacquainted with the bar of the Columbia River and its dangers. After having paid much attention to this subject, and having been engaged there with the tender and boats in the survey, I feel myself entitled to give an opinion as to the course pursued by Captain Hudson, and think it altogether correct, on every ground of expediency, as well as the only proper one for him to have followed under these circumstances. It will be recollected that he had been detained nearly three months beyond his appointed time, and that he was well aware that this would occasion much inconvenience to the progress of our duties; his anxiety to prevent any further delay, even of a few hours, can readily be imagined. The time was, to all appearance, propitious, and hesitation then might have rendered it impossible to have entered for a week. The tender going in ahead would have been little or no security, for she would, undoubtedly, have pursued the same course, and have been, in all probability, lost; and thus the Peacock would have been obliged at last to trust to the knowledge of those



on board of her. As respects the examination of the bar in boats, this is a thing next to impossible; for the tides are so strong as to be beyond the power of oars to contend with. To wait until a thorough knowledge could be had of the bar from survey, would have been equally impossible at that time: all were uninformed or incapable of judging of the accuracy of the directions; but, so far as appearances went, they seemed to be true, and they are such as I should even now give, so far as compass bearings are concerned. But there is one difficulty that will ever exist in passing over the bar, and this nothing but an intimate acquaintance with the locality will remove. I allude to the cross-tides, which are changing every half hour. These tides are at times so rapid, that it is impossible to steer a ship by her compass, or maintain her position; and no sailing directions can possibly embrace the various effects produced by them upon a vessel. A singular fact in illustration of this remark is, that the safest time to cross the bar is when both the tide and wind are adverse; and this is the only port, within my knowledge, where this is the case. Captain Hudson, in venturing the attempt to enter the Columbia, manifested the strongest desire to accomplish his orders and forward the objects of the Expedition. Disregarding the well-known perils of the navigation, he did not hesitate, when in his judgment the time was propitious, to incur the dangers of the bar, rather than subject the service to a further delay, which might have proved as disastrous to the Expedition as the loss of the vessel.

There are no pilots for the entrance of the Columbia River, or rather, none that could be relied upon. Neither old Ramsey nor George deserve the name, nor were there any other persons known, who had any pretensions to be considered as pilots.

Having set this matter at rest, I shall proceed to give the details of the loss of the Peacock.

On the ship striking, the helm was immediately put a-lee, and every practical effort was made to bring her by the wind, and haul off. These efforts were not successful, and the ship, which hung by the keel, began to thump heavily. Every sea forced her further upon the shoal, and as she had now become completely unmanageable, the sails were furled. The stream cable and anchor were got ready, and the first cutter was hoisted out. Lieutenant Emmons was sent to sound around the ship in various directions, in one of the waist boats.

At this time the wind having veered to the northward and westward, was freshening; the air was hazy, and a fog was forming;\* the ebb tide had begun to run strong, and meeting, not only the ocean waves, but an opposing wind, in a short time formed breakers which completely enveloped the ship. These breakers soon stove in the first cutter, and rendered her useless. Such was the fury of the sea, that it was with great difficulty Lieutenant Emmons reached the ship, and the boat was secured.

\* During the summer, this wind, haze, and fog occur almost every day in the afternoon.

With every sea the ship lifted and struck heavily, and much solicitude was therefore felt lest it should be impracticable to get the launch afloat; but no boat could have lived alongside of the vessel for more than a few moments.

The lighter spars were now sent down, and the pumps were rigged; every exertion was made to save the masts and lower yards, by which the launch might be hoisted out as soon as the sea would permit it.

Captain Hudson, finding that the ship was leaking badly, ordered the watches in gangs to the pumps, which were thenceforward kept in action until the vessel was abandoned. Every possible exertion was made to bring the ship's head to the sea, but without much effect, for the rudder was soon disabled in consequence of the iron tiller being broken off. The rudder was thus left to thresh about with such violence as to threaten to tear away the stern-frame.

At last, by heaving the shot overboard, and starting the water, the ship was so much lightened that, by means of the larboard anchor, which had been cast free of the ship, she was hove round with her head to the sea. At low water, which occurred about dark, there was only nine feet depth of water alongside. At 8 h. 45 m. the chain-cable parted, the ship was again thrown broadside to the sea, and began again to strike heavily.

At 11 h. 30 m. it was high water; at 1 p.m. the sea was rapidly increasing; and at 2 a.m. the breakers were making a continued breach over the vessel, by which the bulwarks were stove in, and the spar-deck flooded. The water was knee-deep on the gun-deck, and the shot-lockers were buried in it. The night passed heavily, with little hope of the ship's holding together till morning. At last the day dawned, and with the coming light, and at the extreme fall of the tide, the sea providentially abated.

At six o'clock in the morning, a large canoe boarded the vessel, manned by a crew of Chinook Indians, and having on board old Ramsey, the pilot, with a coloured boy belonging to the Vincennes, of the name of John Dean. The latter, who had been left by me with Mr. Waldron at Astoria, had persuaded Ramsey and the Indians to come off, for the purpose of rendering assistance. The launch and boats were also hoisted out, a few provisions put in them, and a part of the men and officers embarked, with as little delay as possible, and just as they stood, for fear of overloading the boats, and thus causing the loss of all. In these, Lieutenant Perry, with Purser Spieden, the sick, the naturalists, and the charts, books, and ship's papers, were sent off, to be landed in Baker's Bay. The boats landed all not necessary to row them in safety; and succeeded in making a second trip, in which all who had remained on board were taken to the shore, except Captain Hudson, Lieutenant Walker, the boatswain, the carpenter, and about thirty men.

Towards noon, the breakers again increased; and the sea was making a breach in all directions over the ship, which was filling fast, the water having risen above the level of the birth-deck. The masts were cut away, and the vessel lay a complete wreck, with nothing standing but the stump of the mizen-mast.

Lieutenant Emmons, who had charge of the boats, was, during this time, using every possible exertion to make a third trip, but without success; and the crews of the boats were the anxious witnesses of the condition of the ship, without being able to relieve those on board from their perilous situation. They persevered, however, in their fruitless and laborious endeavours, until one of the boats, in charge of Mr. Lewis, the gunner, was thrown end over end, and with her crew engulfed. Lieutenant De Haven was fortunately close at hand, and succeeded in saving those on board; all of whom were injured, and one of them severely, by the breaking of his hip-bone.

The intense excitement, both of those in the vessel and in the boats at this moment may be readily imagined. The accident was seen from the ship; Captain Hudson was satisfied that any immediate attempt to relieve him and his companions must be fruitless; and that the only chance that remained, was to preserve the boats for a future occasion.

He therefore ordered the ensign to be hoisted on the stump of the mizen-mast, as a signal for the boats to return to the land; which was obeyed by them, although with the feeling that they were abandoning their commander, and those with him to their fate. Those on board, on the other hand, were released from their anxiety for the boats, on which alone they could depend for being relieved, if the wreck should remain together for a few hours. Of this, however, the prospect was far from promising, amid the struggle between the waters of the great river and those of the mighty ocean, when every surge seemed to forebode the utter dissolution of the fabric of the ship.

The light articles were now removed to the spar-deck, to give them a chance of reaching the shore by the action of the waves and winds, should the ship go to pieces.

In the midst of this trying scene, the ordinary routine of ship's duty was carried on, even to the piping to dinner. It is needless for me to say anything in praise of the conduct of Captain Hudson, and I have simply to refer to the letters I received from the officers and naturalists, in reply to a call I made upon them, for the aspect in which the transactions presented themselves to those present; and more particularly to those of the latter gentlemen, who, as spectators, had an opportunity of witnessing the whole proceedings.

By three o'clock, Lieutenant Emmons, with the boats, was again approaching the ship; but the sea was still too rough to venture near her, and it was not till five o'clock that he succeeded in getting alongside, when the remaining men were distributed among the boats, and embarked in good order, Captain Hudson being the last to leave the ship. After a pull of two miles, they landed in Baker's Bay, when Captain Hudson was received by the other officers and men with three hearty cheers, the spontaneous expression of their admiration and gratitude for the courage and conduct he had exhibited in his efforts for the preservation of the ship, and in finally preserving the lives of all.

The exertions of the officers and men were not yet at an end ; for some faint hopes were entertained that a portion of the property might still be saved from the wreck, as a relief in their state of utter destitution ; and, in consequence, the boats were dispatched the next morning at daybreak to the bar. But nothing was there to be seen of the Peacock, except the cap of her bowsprit ; for her upper deck had been separated, and the pieces scattered for many miles along the coast.

Captain Hudson passed the highest encomiums on his officers and crew, for the faithful manner in which they continued to perform their duties and carry out his orders to the very last.

I am satisfied that everything that seamanship could devise to save the vessel, was resorted to ; and I am quite confident that when the facts are all known and fully weighed by the community, the conduct of Captain Hudson, and that of his officers and crew, in this perilous and trying scene, will be considered as redounding to the credit of the service.

Mr. Birnie, the agent of the Hudson Bay Company at Astoria, Messrs. Frost and Koen, the missionaries, with several residents, came promptly to the aid of the shipwrecked crew, with provisions, tents, cooking utensils, and clothing, all vieing with each other in affording assistance.

When all hopes of getting anything from the wreck were at an end, Captain Hudson sent the crew to Astoria, in the boats, with orders to form an encampment there, where they found an ample supply of provisions in the stores that had been sent from the Sandwich Islands, and were supplied with clothing by the kindness of Dr. M'Laughlin, and the officers of the Hudson Bay Company.

As soon as I learned the exact state of affairs in the river, I determined to make such disposition of the squadron as would be most advantageous, in the performance, under the new circumstances, of the duties which remained to be accomplished.

With this intent, I resolved to shift my pennant to the Porpoise, and with that vessel, the Flying-Fish, and the boats of the Peacock, to survey the Columbia, to its extreme navigable point. This force would be amply sufficient to perform this survey in the shortest possible time, and yet enable me to dispatch a party, as I had before intended, through the southern section of the Oregon Territory to San Francisco. The Vincennes, to which I ordered Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold, I resolved to send to San Francisco, to make a survey of the Sacramento River, while I was engaged upon that of the Columbia.

In conformity with this plan, I directed the Vincennes to be off and on at the mouth of the river, while I proceeded in with the Porpoise, to make the necessary changes and transfers. Taking Mr. Knox, and Ramsey the pilot, on board the latter vessel, we passed the bar, and stood towards Astoria, but were compelled by the tide to anchor before reaching that place. On the morning of the 7th, we anchored in front of Astoria, where all the necessary arrangements were completed ; and Lieutenant-Commandant

Ringgold, on the next day, proceeded in the Flying-Fish, with the transferred officers, to join the Vincennes. As soon as this was effected, that vessel bore away for San Francisco, and the tender returned to the river.

As it became absolutely necessary to economise our time as much as possible, every disposition was now made of the men and boats. I soon, however, found that, although I had sent a number of men to the Vincennes, there would be many that could not be well accommodated in the smaller vessel, and I was desirous of procuring some extra accommodation. Fortunately, the American brig, the *Thomas H. Perkins*, Captain Varney, was lying at Astoria; and a reasonable agreement was entered into for her purchase. Dr. McLaughlin, who had entered into a charter party, readily agreed to surrender it for a small consideration, if the goods he had on board were delivered at Vancouver. This there was no difficulty in, as it was found necessary to make some alterations in her accommodations, and it would be necessary to resort to Vancouver for many articles; and these repairs could be easily effected during the time we were engaged in the survey of the river, and better at Vancouver than elsewhere. It was, therefore, determined to proceed up with both vessels, at the time of making the survey.

It is now proper that I should return to the regular order of events, and take up the narration of the interesting cruise of the *Peacock*, the unforeseen and disastrous termination of which has just been related.



## CHAPTER XIII.

## CRUISE OF THE PEACOCK AND FLYING-FISH.

Washington Island—Jarvis's Island—Duke of York's Island—Duke of Clarence's Island—Bowditch Island discovered—Swain's Island—Island of Upolu in the Samoan Group—Apia Harbour—Attempt to capture Tagi, a murderer—Determination of the Chiefs and People to protect Tagi—Towns of Salafata, Fusi, and Salelese reduced to ashes in consequence—Effects of the example—Ellice's Group of Islands—Kingsmill Group of Islands—The Peacock and Flying-Fish at the Bar of the Columbia.



THE Peacock and Flying-Fish left Oahu on the 2nd December, 1840, and steered off to the southward until they reached Washington Island. It is three and a quarter miles long by one and a fourth wide, and is entirely covered with cocoa-nut and other trees, exhibiting a most luxuriant growth.

On the 20th December, they made Jarvis's Island. This is a small coral island, triangular in shape, a mile and three-fourths in length east and west, and a mile wide north and south. It exhibits the appearance of a white sand beach, ten or twelve feet above

the sea, without a tree or shrub, and but a few patches of grass.

On the 9th January, 1841, they made Enderbury's Island, of the Phoenix Group.

On the 11th, they surveyed Birnie's Island.

On the 25th, they arrived at the Duke of York's Island. This is a lagoon island, of coral formation; its length is three miles, and its width two and a half miles. The islets that have been formed on the reef are eight or ten feet above the water, and are covered with cocoa-nut and pandanus trees.

As they approached the island, three double canoes were seen coming towards the ship, but with great caution; singing and shouting, making many gestures, and waving pieces of matting. A white flag was waved in return.

The boats were now lowered, and a large party proceeded to land

at the nearest point. They found the natives who had come alongside, ready to receive them, with every sign of friendship. They had recovered from their alarm, and met the officers before they reached the beach, greeting them by rubbing noses and throwing their arms around their necks. Their excitement seemed to be so great that it was difficult for them to keep still for a moment, distracted by the numerous novel things around them. Some of them, however, were exceedingly shy, and would not suffer themselves to be approached; others had greater confidence, but at the same time showed a respectful fear; while a few put their arms round the officers' necks, and exhibited a boldness devoid of dread of any kind.

Their village was on the inner or lagoon side of the island, and contained about thirty houses, which were raised about a foot above the surrounding earth; they were of oblong shape, about fifteen feet high to the ridge-pole, sloping gradually, and of a convex form to within two or three feet of the ground; the roof was supported on high posts, whilst the lower part rested on short ones, three feet within the eaves, having a strong piece extending around, on which the rafters are tied; the gable-ends were overtopped by the roof, and seemed necessary to protect them from the weather. Below the eaves, the whole was open from the ground to the roof. The thatching, made of pandanus-leaves, was of great thickness, and put on loosely. The interior of the houses was very clean, but there was no furniture except a few gourds, and a reclining stool, cut from a solid block of wood, having two legs at one end, which inclined it at an angle of nearly forty-five degrees: to show the manner of lying in it, they imitated a careless and comfortable lounge, which they evidently considered a luxury.

The most remarkable constructions of the islanders near the village, were three small quays, five or six feet wide, and two feet above the water, forming slips about ten feet wide: at the end of each of these was a small house, built of pandanus-leaves, partly on poles in the water. These appeared to be places for securing their canoes, and for the purpose of keeping their fishing implements. Three canoes were seen lying a short distance off in the lagoon, filled with the women and children: This was a precaution adopted to enable them to escape if it became necessary; yet they did not seem to apprehend any hostility. No kind of war implements was observed among them, and their bodies exhibited no marks of strife with each other.

This island was discovered by Byron, in 1765, who reported it as destitute of inhabitants. The natives gave the name of their island as Oatafu, and acknowledged themselves the subjects of a chief who lived on a neighbouring island, called Fakaafo, pointing to a southerly direction. With this exception, they did not appear to possess the knowledge of any other islands but their own.

On the 26th, the vessels sailed for the Duke of Clarence Island, which they did not reach until the 28th, though only a few miles distant. It was found to be seven and two tenths miles long, and five miles wide. It is of a triangular shape.

On the 29th, land was discovered close to the vessel. This proved to be a new discovery, as it was not be found on any chart. The island, which I have named Bowditch, agreeably to the wish



MATE TAN WAR-CHIEF OF MANONO.

of Captain Hudson, was of coral formation. It is eight miles long, and in width four miles. On its south-west and north points the land is of considerable elevation, and the more elevated parts are connected by an extensive coral reef, that is a wash. On the east side the land is more continuous, and on three parts there are extensive groves of cocoa-nut trees and shrubbery.

Eighteen canoes, with four or five persons in each, were seen off the end of the island on a fishing excursion: they disregarded the vessels altogether, and continued their occupation, without taking any notice of them, and as if unwilling to lose the opportunity of taking the fish, which they do after the manner of the Samoans, by trolling a line, it being fastened by a pole eight or ten feet long to the stern of the canoes, and elevated above the surface to a sufficient height to allow the fish-hook, which was made of shell or bone, to drag along the surface of the water.

The natives were at first very shy of the boats; but the Hawaiians who were in them soon induced them to approach, and enter into trade, and finally enticed them alongside the ships. On coming near, they began a song or chant, holding up their paddles and mats, and shouting "kafilou tamatau." They resembled the natives of Oatafu, wore the same kind of mats, eye-shades, and ornaments, and some were tattooed after the same manner. They were all finely formed, and manly in appearance, with pleasing countenances, that expressed good-nature.



BOWDITCH ISLANDER.

They seemed eager enough for trade, and soon disposed of all they had to exchange; a few presents were also made them, but all inducements failed to entice them on board. They appeared very cheerful, laughing heartily at anything that struck them as ridiculous.

The officers landed on the south-west point of the island, whither four or five canoes accompanied them. The islet was found covered



with cocoa-nut trees, but there were no houses upon it. They called it Fakaafu, which was the same as the natives of Oatafu had designated as the island where their great chief lived.

Swain's Island is nearly round, and four miles in circumference. When within a mile of the island, no bottom could be had with two hundred fathoms of line. This isolated spot gave no other evidence of its ever having been inhabited, except the groves of cocoa-nut trees.

On the 5th of February, the mountains of Savaii were dimly visible, although they were between fifty and sixty miles off.



FIGUS, OR BANYAN TREE.

On the 6th, they were off the island of Upolu. In the afternoon, the Peacock anchored in Apia Harbour, where, among their old acquaintances, they encountered Pea, the ruling chief of the place, whose begging propensities still existed in all their force. His form

was equally rotund, and his desire of being of service quite as great. Report spoke of him as having become very religious of late, but his covetousness had not diminished in consequence, at least, in the opinion of our officers. He was generally full of business among his friends and relatives, all of whom he considers more or less as his dependants. He was very anxious to be informed what had become of his relative, Tuvai, the murderer, whom we had carried away from these islands on our former visit.

On the 21st, while at anchor, Captain Hudson hearing that the noted Sangapolutale, principal chief of the towns of Saluafata, Fusi, and Salelese, who had protected, and refused to give up the murderer of Gideon Smith, was at one of the towns near by on a visit, determined, if possible, to surprise and take him prisoner, to be held until such time as the murderer was given up. For this purpose he visited the town before daylight of the 22nd, with a few officers and men, but without success.

Previous to this time, Captain Hudson had demanded of him the punishment or delivery of the murderer, Tagi. In the course of the communications, Sangapolutale acknowledged that the murderer ought to be punished or given up; said he once wanted to kill him himself, but being a petty chief, he was backed and protected by the chiefs and the people of the three towns before named, who were promised, in case of necessity, assistance from some of the neighbouring chiefs, as well as others on the opposite side of the island. It was distinctly stated to Sangapolutale, that the murderer must be either punished or given up, in conformity to the regulations adopted in their fono, composed of all the principal chiefs in the island, and that if neither of these stipulations were complied with, we would be compelled to employ force in burning the towns that concealed and protected the murderer, and set their own laws and us at defiance.

Three days were given him from the time of the interview, to comply with the demand. He promised to do what he could, but he was fearful of the result, as his people wanted to fight, and had been promised aid from many quarters.

On the third day his messengers arrived at Apia, and brought word that the chiefs and people were determined that the murderer should not be given up or punished; that they defied the Papalangis and their power; and that, if Captain Hudson chose to come and take him, they would give him a fight. The messenger further stated, that they well knew he would be demanded according to their own regulations, but they would take care that he should not be punished or given up, for they were prepared to resist any attempt that would be made. Many other insulting messages were received: among them, one from the murderer and his friends, that when "he could kill a few more white men, he would be given up."

Such were their threats and boasting: their conduct was conformable to them, as represented by our consul, the missionaries, and Mr. Cunningham, H.B.M. vice-consul. Captain Hudson now saw the necessity of taking some steps that would check this

criminal and audacious spirit, and prove to the natives that we had the power to punish these aggressions on our citizens.

On the 24th, the Peacock anchored in the harbour of Saluafata. A delay of a few hours was made, in the hope of receiving some communication from the natives, and that they would at the last moment agree to give up or punish the murderer. But no overtures whatever came. At nine o'clock the boats were manned. The party landed, and the town of Saluafata, which consisted of about seventy-five houses, was reduced to ashes. The towns of Fusi and Salelese, of some fifty more, shared the same fate. The party then returned to the ship, without any accident to themselves or the natives, having met with no opposition whatever, notwithstanding the great boastings and bravado messages which had been sent by the chiefs and inhabitants.

Since this transaction, I have received letters from the island of Upolu, which inform me that this well-deserved punishment has had the most happy effect, and has put a termination to evils that had formerly been of common occurrence.

They now left Saluafata, and on the evening of the 5th anchored in the roadstead of Mataatu, island of Savaii, visited before by the Porpoise. The town contains about two thousand inhabitants, most of whom are still heathens.

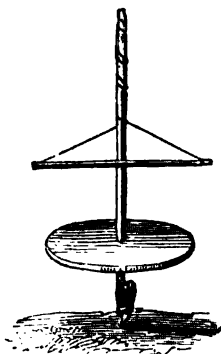
On the 6th of March, they sailed for the islands known on the chart as Ellice's Group.

At noon on the 14th, they were close to Ellice's Group, an extensive ring of small islets, situated on a coral reef, surrounding a lagoon. These are so far separated as to give the idea of distinct islands, which has probably led to their having the name of "group." These islets are well covered with cocoa-nut and other trees, which give them a sufficient elevation to be seen at ten or twelve miles distance. The reef which links these islets is a wash, over which the sea breaks with violence. The island is thirteen miles long and seven miles and two-tenths wide.

Two canoes approached the ship. From the familiar manner in which they came alongside, it was evident they had frequent communication with vessels. They refused to come on board, but exhibited various articles of traffic.

They had no other weapons but spears and knives, and seemed to be equipped for a fishing party, from the implements they had with them. Some rolls of sennit were bought, and large wooden shark hooks. Their spears were only poles of cocoa-nut wood, pointed at one end; and their knives made of small sharks' teeth, inserted into a stick, with gum and fine sennit, and are about a foot long.

It was soon found that they understood the Samoan language,



DRILL USED IN BOWDITCH ISLAND.

and spoke a purely Polynesian dialect. The Samoan native easily conversed with them. They gave the name of the island as Fanafute.



COSTUME, ELLICE'S GROUP.

They seemed perfectly familiar with white men, and when the guns were fired they showed no kind of alarm.

From what was ascertained, the population was put down at two hundred and fifty souls.

The vessels left Ellice's Group the same evening, proceeded under easy sail, and at daylight made the Depeyster Islands, distant three and a half miles to the north-west; and on the same day Tracy's Island, whose native name is Oaitupu, was in sight to the eastward.

Depeyster Island is called by the natives Nukufetau; they are acquainted with Fanafute, or Ellice's Island, and also with Oaitupu, or Tracy's Island. On being asked if these were all the islands they knew of,

they said, pointing to the east, that beyond Oaitupu there were three islands, called Oatafu, Nukunono, and Fakaafu, which it will be recollected are those of the Union Group. Mr. Hale pressed the inquiry, if this were all; and with some hesitation they added the name of Oloosinga, which is one of the small eastern islands of the Samoan Group; but what seemed strange, they did not understand the name of Samoa. On mentioning Tonga and Haabai, the names appeared to be recognised.

The vessels left Nukufetau the same evening, and steered away to the northward. They passed a small island, on which I have bestowed the name of Spieden, after the purser of the Peacock, one of the most valuable officers of the Expedition.

On the 24th they fell in with another island. This discovery I have called Hudson, after Captain Hudson. It was found to be but one mile and four-tenths long, north and south, and nine-tenths of a mile wide, east and west. This island is inhabited, a few natives being seen on the beach, and several houses under cocoa-nut trees on its west side. It is of coral formation, has no lagoon, and can be seen about eight or ten miles.

On the 25th they passed the small island of St. Augustine.

Until the 3rd of April they continued to sail to the northward, without meeting with any islands. On that day they made Drummond's Island of the charts, one of the Kingsmill Group, where they encountered the regular north-east trades. This island is called Taputeouea by the natives. It is of coral formation, thirty miles long, and varies in width from a half to three-quarters of a mile. This, however, only includes the high portions, or that which is above the ocean level a few feet. It is thinly covered with cocoa-nut and pandanus-trees, and not a patch of grass is to be seen, or any sort of shrubbery or undergrowth. To the leeward, or on its west side, the reefs and sand-banks extend off some distance.

The natives of this island are savages; they did all in their power to pilfer from the party that landed; if their attention were diverted for a moment, the hands of a native were felt at their pockets. When detected, they would hold up their hands, with open palms, and laugh. This boldness was more especially confined to a few, and one in particular, a young chief, who was a tall, good-looking person, with a vain and impudent expression of countenance. It is impossible to give a correct idea of the annoyances that our gentlemen were subject to from the rudeness of some, the excess of civility of others, and the constant watchfulness that became necessary to avoid the pick-pockets. An old man was about smearing himself in cocoa-nut oil, with a cup full of salve, in which he would dip his fingers, and endeavour to rub them in their faces. This afforded much amusement to the party, while the natives seemed astonished that the attempt was repulsed; for there was little doubt of its being intended as a great compliment thus to anoint their guests.

On the afternoon of the 7th, a large party visited the town of Utiroa, equally well armed as the day before, and with fresh instructions and cautions that no one should give cause of offence, and if anything was offered for sale, to pay liberally for it. These precautions were enjoined in consequence of the belief that the natives were a treacherous and dangerous set of fellows. They manifested a decided disposition for warlike pursuits, and ferocity was the most predominant trait in their character.

After they had been an hour and a half on shore, Captain Hudson ordered all the officers and boats' crews down to the beach, fearing a collision, and being satisfied that it was quite time to depart. As they were assembling for the purpose of embarking, a noise was heard, resembling a sudden assault, from some of the houses near by, and on mustering the men, John Anderson, a seaman, was missing.



NATIVE OF ELLICE'S ISLAND.

Two officers were sent, each with a few men, in the direction whence the report proceeded, but they saw nothing of him, and all was quiet at the enclosures. The natives began now to assemble in large numbers, armed, and things looked somewhat serious. As the party returned to the beach, they were stoned, and one of the men received a severe blow. This was, however, borne without return. On inquiry, it was found that Anderson had been met but a few moments before the party was mustered. He was armed with a musket, pistol, and cutlass, and was esteemed one of the most correct and prudent men in the ship. The boats were now shoved off a short distance from the beach, and beyond the reach of the native arms, when several muskets were fired to notify him, and his name repeatedly called, which could have been heard in any part of the village; but no Anderson appeared. Captain Hudson finally came to the conclusion that he had either been enticed away by the women, or that the natives had detained him, in the hopes of receiving a ransom for his release, and that he would either return in one of the canoes of the ship, or be given up on a reward being offered. Under these impressions, he ordered the boats to return to the ship.

The next day passed without any intelligence of poor Anderson, and there was little doubt but he had been treacherously murdered. Captain Hudson, therefore, believed it to be a paramount duty to punish them, not only for this perfidious act, but to secure their good conduct hereafter, in case of other vessels touching at this island. In consequence of this determination, the boats were prepared for landing.

The expedition consisted of seven boats; in them were embarked about eighty officers and men. About nine o'clock they approached the town of Utiroa. The first object that attracted attention was a column of smoke arising from a small building that stood on piles in front of the town before spoken of. On arriving near the beach, the three divisions formed in a line abreast, according to the directions. Lieutenant Walker, with Mr. Hale (who acted as interpreter), now showed the white flag, and pulled in toward the beach in front, in order to hold a parley, make further inquiries relative to Anderson, and endeavour to have him given up, if alive. There were about five hundred natives, well armed, on the beach, and others were constantly coming in from all sides: they shouted and shook their weapons, with threatening gestures. Many of them, however, seemed undecided how to act; and their whole appearance, though formidable enough, was yet quite ludicrous in the eyes of the men, equipped as the savages were in their cumbrous coats of mail and fish-skin helmets.

As the boat approached, several of the natives advanced towards it, preceded by a chief fully equipped in armour, and holding a spear in his right hand. Mr. Hale then explained the object they had in view, and showed the large quantity of tobacco which they had brought for a ransom. The chief appeared to understand, and pointed to the shore, making signs at the same time for them to come in. The savages who attended the chief had now increased in

numbers, and were close to the boat, while the whole body was advancing slowly forwards. Finding that it was not only useless but dangerous to continue the parley, the boat was pulled back into line.

Having thus failed to procure the desired end, the most humane manner of effecting their punishment was conceived to be at once to show them the power of our arms, and sacrifice some of the most prominent among the savages. Lieutenant Walker, therefore, requested Mr. Peale, the best shot of the party, to give them a proof



DRUMMOND'S ISLAND WARRIORS.

of it, and thus prevent the further effusion of blood. This was accordingly done by singling out one of the foremost, and a rocket was also discharged, which took its flight towards the great body of them. The latter missile caused great confusion, and many of them turned to seek the shore, but their terror did not last long, and they made another stand, brandishing their spears and weapons as if bent upon a trial of strength with their opponents; the falling of their chiefs was disregarded, and few seemed to consider the effects produced, except those who were wounded. A general volley soon followed, which caused them all to retreat, some in great haste, while others moved more slowly towards the shore, seeming to be but little impressed as to the character of our arms. The wounded and dead were all carried off. The boats now pushed in for the beach, and by the time they had reached it, there was not a native of the whole host to be seen.

The whole town was soon in a blaze, and but a short time sufficed to reduce it to ashes. The natives were still to be seen in small

parties, out of reach of the guns, among the cocoa-nut groves. The place now exhibited a very different picture from that it had presented only a short hour before. The blackened sites were all that remained of the former dwellings, the council-house was entirely in ashes, the fences were torn down, and the cocoa-nut trees leafless.

The tide having fallen three bodies were found, one of whom was the young chief who had been so troublesome and insolent to our gentlemen, and who it was believed had been active in the murder of poor Anderson.

While the party were getting ready to embark, a small party of natives were seen coming towards them from Eta; these were all unarmed, and had cocoa-nut leaves and mats tied round their necks: they had come to assure our party of their good-will, and their joy at the destruction of Utiroa. One old man in particular repeated frequently his assurances, with much laughter and many grimaces. No sooner had they ascertained that the intentions towards them were not hostile, than they began to pillage the burning town.

The number of houses destroyed was supposed to be about three hundred, besides upwards of a dozen large canoes. The loss of life was twelve on the part of the natives: there was no one injured on our side.

From the fact that the natives had left everything in their dwellings, it was clear that they did not anticipate the fate that was to befall them; that they were in hopes of being able to cut off our boats, and perhaps flattered themselves with the prospect of an indiscriminate plunder. This would be in perfect accordance with their customs and constant practice of attempting to cut off all vessels or boats that may visit their islands.

The character of these islanders is the most savage of any that we met with; their ferocity led to the belief that they were cannibals, although no positive proofs were seen of it. They are under no control whatever, and possess little of the characteristic hospitality usually found in savage nations. It was observed also that their treatment of each other exhibited a great want of feeling, and in many instances, passions and propensities indicative of the lowest state of barbarism. Their young girls were offered to be disposed of, by their fathers and brothers, alongside the ship, openly, and without concealment; and to drive a bargain for them was one of the principal objects of their visits to the ship.

It is to be hoped that the punishment inflicted on Utiroa for the murder of Anderson will be long remembered, and prove a salutary lesson to the numerous and thickly-peopled towns of Taputeouea, or Drummond's Island.

On the same evening (the 9th) they weighed anchor, and on the next day made Bishop's or Sydenham Island, which they surveyed the following day.

The native name for Bishop's or Sydenham's Island is Nanouti; it is of coral formation, and a mere ledge of land, like Drummond's Island, with a lagoon, reef, and bank, on its lee side. It is



nineteen miles long, and its width, including lagoon and reef, eight and a half miles. On the south-west and north-west portions of it, there is a coral bank, from one to one and a half miles beyond the reef, on which there is ten fathoms water. At the distance of four miles from the north-west end of the island, they found soundings in two hundred and sixty-five fathoms.

At daylight, on the 11th, they made Henderville Island, called by the natives Nanouki.

This island is six and a half miles long, and five and a half miles wide at the east end, diminishing to two miles at the west end; it is of coral formation. There are two towns on the west end, and several on the east and south-east parts, and it is thickly inhabited. The natives who came on board said that the two ends of the island were at war with each other. They are very much the same in appearance as the natives of Drummond's Island; were naked, and spoke the same dialect. These natives knew of the islands in their immediate vicinity, as well as the direction of Taputeouea or Drummond's Island, and gave them the name of being inhabited by a savage and hostile people.

Hall's Island, called by the natives Maiana, is of coral formation. This island is nine miles long, and six miles in width; and consists of a reef and bank, with a sand-pit in its lagoon.

On the morning of the 15th, they made the island of Apamama. It is about five feet above the surface of the ocean; is ten miles long, and five miles in width. The land is continuous on the north and east sides, excepting two small strips of bare reef.

On the 16th, while engaged in the survey of Kuria or Woodlee's Island, some canoes came off to the ship, when the natives came on board without hesitation. With them was a white man—before he reached the deck, his voice bespoke him an Irishman. He announced himself as "John Kirby, a deserter from the English whale-ship Admiral Cockburn." He said he had been on the island for three years; that he was living with the daughter of the principal chief; and solicited a passage to some civilised place.

The principal chief of the island, with his daughter, whom Kirby had for a wife, came on board with him. They both seemed deeply affected when they learned that he had received permission to remain on board, and was about to leave them; and both endeavoured to dissuade him from going.

His wife showed much concern, and wished to accompany him: the old chief, her father, endeavoured to persuade him to take her. Finding she could not prevail, she requested as a parting gift an old jack-knife, the only property he had left to give. Several presents were made to her by the officers and men, which reconciled her somewhat to her lot. The natives all left the ship much gratified, excepting Kirby's wife, who continued to be somewhat downhearted.

Kirby proved an intelligent man: he understood the language, and was well acquainted with the character, manners, and customs of the islanders, among whom he had lived from the 11th of February, 1838, to the 15th of April, 1841. His presence in the ship afforded

Captain Hudson an opportunity, not only of communicating with the natives more freely, but of obtaining much interesting information relative to this group.

Kuria or Woodle's Island has four towns on it, which Kirby estimates to contain between four and five thousand inhabitants. Its greatest length is five miles, and its greatest width, which is at the south-east end, is two and a half miles. The remainder is very narrow, and almost divided towards the centre. The north-west portion has two small lagoons, two or three hundred yards from the beach: the water in them is not so salt as the ocean. In one of them the bottom consists of red mud on one side, while it is a white clay on the other. They are used as fish-ponds by the chiefs. There is a reef extending to the north-west nearly three miles.

Kirby states, that on the first night of his landing, they stripped him of everything but an old pair of trousers, after which he was conducted to a great conclave of natives assembled around a large fire, which he then believed was intended to roast him. He had fortunately gone on shore in the highest chief's canoe, and placed himself under his protection, as well as he knew how. After some considerable talk, instead of being roasted, he was furnished with a wife, and taken to reside with his friend, the principal chief, who, with the rest of the natives, ever after treated him kindly. After a few months' residence in the family of the chief, he gave his own daughter to Kirby for a wife. The result of this was much jealousy and envy between his first wife, of common origin, and his last, of high rank, until the former was ousted and sent back to her parents, leaving the chief's daughter in quiet possession of the house.

During Kirby's residence on the island, several English and one American whaler had been off the island, on which occasions he had been employed as pilot and interpreter. The natives were constantly asking him after their departure, why he "did not fool the vessels and run them on shore, that they might plunder them." One of the above vessels left two pigs, two goats, and a pair of Muscovy ducks; but no sooner had the vessel left, than they killed them all, for some superstitious fear, and threw them into the sea, notwithstanding all Kirby's remonstrances and entreaties to have them spared, and allow him to eat them.

Kirby says that the natives, though not professed cannibals, sometimes eat human flesh; but their food is generally fish. They do not eat fowls, and will not raise pigs, on account of their filth. Their treacle is extracted from the spathes of the cocoa-nut trees, an operation which, if frequently repeated, destroys the tree. They are very fond of cock-fighting.

The conduct of foreigners who visit these islands is sometimes of a most outrageous character. Some four or five months before the Peacock's visit, Kirby states that one Leasonby, master of the whale-ship *Offley*, of London, and whose mate was an American, named Lake, landed six young girls on this island, whom he had obtained at Peru, or Francis Island. After having kept them on board several days, he brought them here to save himself the trouble of beating his vessel up to the island to which they belonged.

These young girls were extremely good-looking, and are now slaves to the chief of this island, and made to labour, and satisfy his lusts. They were landed on Kuria, in despite of their entreaties and tears. These people are in the habit of killing all strangers from islands not connected with their immediate group; but the lives of these girls were spared, and they were retained in bondage. Two of them were brought off to the ship, who entreated most earnestly to be kept on board, and to be carried to their home.

The published charts of these islands were found so inaccurate, as to be a cause of danger rather than of safety. Several islands are laid down which do not exist.

Tarawa, or Knox Island, is in length twenty miles. The land is continuous and wooded, with the exception of four gaps, where the reef is bare. The south side is twelve miles long. On this part, near the western end, are three hummocks (which appear like islands in the distance), and several small sand-banks, which are connected by the same reef. This island has its lagoon, but it has the appearance of an extensive bay.

Apia, or Charlotte Island, consists of strings of coral islets, situated within a reef, which is six and seven feet above the water. The reef has a bluff front, and is much worn by the sea. There is no coral sand. It is a lagoon island; its length is sixteen miles, and its average breadth five. On the east side of the island the land is covered with cocoa-nut and pandanus groves.

The next island that claimed their attention was Maraki, or Matthew's Island. It is much smaller than the two last. It is a lagoon island, without entrances, and of coral formation. It is but five miles long, and two and a half wide at its base, being of triangular shape. It appears to be densely peopled.

On the 27th, the Peacock left Matthew's Island to look for Pitt's Island, which they made on the 28th. There are two islands known under this name; the largest is called by the natives Taritari, and the smallest, Makin. This island is of the figure of a triangle, with its apex to the south, and its sides are about fourteen miles in length. The south-east side is a continuous grove of cocoa-nut and pandanus, with some undergrowth.

Makin is of much smaller dimensions, being but six miles long; it varies in width from half a mile to a mile. This small island is the seat of government, and the natives now unite both names under the one of Makin.

It was soon evident that the island was thickly inhabited; for when the ship reached the lee side, in the afternoon, about twenty canoes came off, containing from five to ten natives in each, and in one of them was a white man, who was clothed in mats. The ship was immediately hove-to to take him on board, and he gave his name as Robert Wood (alias Grey), a Scotchman by birth, who was left by his own wish on the island, seven years before, by the English whaling brig Janie, of London, sailing from Sydney. He was under so great excitement as to render his utterance quite unintelligible at times, and some amusing scenes took place in consequence. On his reaching the deck, he first inquired if he would

be permitted to go on shore again; and then, who was king of England; if there was peace with America, for he had thought there must be a war. He had seen no white man since he landed, and said that he had become old and gray-headed. To prove the latter assertion he pulled off his apology for a hat, and displayed a most luxuriant growth of jet-black hair.

He had not been on board long before he asked for a passage to some civilised land; and when he was informed that his wishes would be gratified, he seemed, for a time, beside himself from excess of joy. His feelings were evinced in his endeavours to interpret the questions to the natives; he almost invariably repeated to them what was said to him in English, in the same language; and gave back their answers or expressions in the island dialect.

Wood says, that the natives had always treated him kindly; and for the first few months after his arrival among them, they carried him about on their shoulders (he was the first white man that many of them had ever seen), and almost deified him. They have no wars, and very few arms, and seldom quarrel, except about their women. The punishment of death is inflicted on those who infringe the seraglio of the chiefs.

When the vessels had made sail, in order to leave the island, and it was supposed that all the natives had left the ship, one was found hanging to the man-ropes near the water. Wood, on questioning the native, found that he was a petty chief, who wished to accompany the ship, and had taken this means of doing it, hoping not to be perceived until he was out of sight of his island. He said he was too poor a chief to have any wives, and therefore wished to leave his island, and be landed on some other, where he could obtain some. Captain Hudson had a boat lowered at once, by which he was put on board a canoe, that took him to the shore.

On completing the survey of the Kingsmill Group, Captain Hudson found it necessary to place his crew, and that of the tender, upon a reduced allowance of provisions and water. He then steered away to the northward, through the Mulgrave Islands; and on the morning of the 3rd of May, they made Peddar Island of Arrowsmith. The vessels passed along its west side, and through the Fordyce Passage, between it and Arrowsmith's Island. Daniel Island was also seen from aloft to the eastward. These islands are all of coral formation, with lagoons, and are inhabited. The south-east end of Arrowsmith's Island was found to be in latitude  $7^{\circ} 5' N.$ , longitude  $171^{\circ} 23' 54'' E.$  It is twenty miles long.

On the 17th of July, the Peacock and Flying-Fish arrived at the bar of the Columbia River, after having touched for a few days at the Sandwich Islands.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE KINGSMILL ISLANDERS.

The Kingsmill Group—Islands of which it is Composed—Their General Character—Their Soil—Taro Ponds—Tradition of the Origin of the People—Ancient Inter-course between the Islands—Physiognomy and Appearance of the Natives—Their Social State—Government—Descent of Property—Religious Belief—Priests—Oracles—Omens—Pretended Communication with Spirits—Belief in a Future State—Their Mode of Life—Their Character—Their Treatment of Children, of the Aged, and of Women—Their Wars—Cannibalism not Practised—Their Weapons—Their Houses and Canoes—Their Manufactures—Dress—Ornaments—Their Food—Their Mode of Cooking—Their Amusements—Their Marriages—Mode of giving names—Tattooing—Funeral Ceremonies—Diseases—Climate of the Group—Earthquakes—Contrast between Pitt's and the other Islanders.

THE Kingsmill Group consists of fifteen islands, extending from 1° 30' S. latitude to 3° 20' N. latitude, and between 171° and 174° E. longitude. They are as follow, viz.:

NATIVE NAMES.	NAMES ON CHARTS.
Maraki . . . . .	Matthew's Island.
Makin and Taritari . . . . .	Pitt's "
Apia . . . . .	Charlotte's "
Tarawa . . . . .	Knox's "
Maiana . . . . .	Hall's "
Apamama . . . . .	Hopper's "
Kuria . . . . .	Woodle's "
Nanouki . . . . .	Henderville's "
Nanouti . . . . .	Sydenham "
Taputeouea . . . . .	Drummond's "

The above are all those that were visited by the Peacock: the natives, however, gave the names of others, which are said to be in the neighbourhood, to the number of six.

Peru . . . . .	Francis Island.
Nukunau . . . . .	Byron's "
Arurai . . . . .	Hurd's "
Tamana . . . . .	Phoebe "
Onoutu . . . . .	Rotcher's "

The first of these five are known on the maps, but the two last are not. There is one which the natives of Apia designated by Tarawani-Makin, but I am inclined to believe it was intended for Pitt's Island.

The population of the group, from the best data which were obtained

is about sixty thousand souls. At Drummond's Island, where there was the best opportunity of a personal examination, the estimates were above ten thousand: this is considered the most populous island in the whole group. On Apamama, Kirby saw collected from six to seven thousand warriors, belonging to it, Nanouki, and Kuria: the joint population of these three islands may therefore be reckoned at twenty-eight thousand; it would seem reasonable to estimate the remaining twelve islands, which have been observed to be thickly inhabited, at the same number.

Their soil, which is but a few inches in depth, is of coral sand and vegetable mould. Their cultivation consists for the most part in that of cocoa-nut and pandanus, which are their chief articles of food. They also cultivate with great care a species of the taro (*Arum cordifolium*), which is called by the natives "pôipôï," and is said to grow to a very large size.

Bread-fruit trees are to be found on the northern islands, but the tree was not seen on the southern.

There is likewise a purslain, which is abundant, and is eaten in scarcity or famine. The excavations for the planting of taro are of various sizes, generally one hundred feet in length by fifty in breadth. On Makin or Pitt's Island, it is said, there is a trench about ten feet wide, and not less than seven miles long, dug around the lagoon, from which it is separated by an embankment. The water in this trench is but slightly brackish, and sufficiently fresh to nurture the taro. On Makin, they have a kind of fruit resembling the gooseberry, called by the natives "teiparu;" this they pound, after it is dried, and make with molasses, into cakes, which are sweet and pleasant to the taste.

Of all the native accounts of the peopling of the groups of the islands in the vast Pacific, that of the Kingsmill Group bears the strongest impress of truth and historical probability. This account states, that the first inhabitants arrived in two canoes from Barnes or Baneba, an island which they say, lies to the south-westward, and whence they had escaped during a civil war, as the only means left them of preserving their lives. After they had arrived upon this island and had begun a settlement, two other canoes happened to arrive from an island to the south-eastward, which they called Amoi. The natives in the last canoes were lighter in colour, and better looking than their predecessors, and spoke a different language. For one or two generations the two races lived together in harmony; but the Baneba people coveting the wives of the men from Amoi, difficulties arose, which ended in the Amoi men being put to death by those of Baneba, and the latter taking possession of the women.

From these sources all the Kingsmill natives are descended. The bread-fruit is said to have been brought by the Amoi people, and the taro by those of Baneba. The cocoa-nut and pandanus were found growing on the island.

What adds to the probability of this simple story, is the fact that it is almost the only tradition these islanders have. That the islands have been peopled within a period not very remote, is believed by the natives themselves, and they state that only a few generations

back the people were much fewer than at present, wars less frequent, and the communication between the islands safe and free.

The islanders of this group differ in their personal traits from those of Polynesians, and more nearly resemble the Malays. Their colour is a dark copper, a shade or two deeper than the Tahitian; they are of the middle size, well made, and slender. Their hair is fine, black, and glossy; the nose slightly aquiline, but a little broad at the base; the mouth is large, with full lips and small teeth; the cheek bones project forward, so as to give the eyes the appearance of being sunken; their beards and mustaches are black and fine like their hair. Their average height is about five feet eight inches, and the great majority would be called small men. The women are much smaller in proportion than the men, with delicate features, slight figures, and, as before remarked, they were generally thought pretty.

In this description, it will be necessary to remark, that the inhabitants of Makin are not included; for they differ so much in point of appearance from the others, that were it not for their manners, customs, and language, they could not be classed among the same race.



INHABITANT OF MAKIN.

They are at all times abundantly supplied with food, and living an inactive life, with nothing to disturb their peace, have from this cause become naturally indolent. Their colour is a shade lighter than that of the natives of the other islands of this group; their stature taller, and their whole frame much larger; their limbs are full and well rounded; their bodies as smooth as a child's; their features oval, and more regular and delicate than those of the natives of the southern islands of the same group.

As respects their social state, the people are divided into three classes: the nea or omata (chiefs), katoka (landholders), and kawa (slaves). The first and last divisions constitute about three-fourths of the population, and are about equal in numbers. The katokas are persons who possess land, but are not of noble birth; many of these were originally slaves, who have obtained lands by acts of bravery, or through the favour of their chiefs. The kawas are those who possess no land, or no one from whom they can claim support. The omatas consist of all the free and well-born, who possess the greater proportion of the land, as well as the political authority of the group. The oldest male of a family is the chief of the community, and presides over all their matters; he is called nea.

There does not appear to be any general authority existing throughout the group, excepting in the islands of Apamama, Nanouki, and Kuria, where there is a king, who governs the three: he resides on the former, and is named "Tetalau."

The government is carried on after the simplest patriarchal form, the king contenting himself with receiving the tribute due him,

without intermeddling with the administration of the affairs of the separate towns over which he rules.

There are places where the royal authority does not supersede all other, and where the government is carried on by the whole body of chiefs, who take rank according to their age. In these places, for the purpose of accommodating all, there is in every town a large council-house, called the *mariapa*. In it every family of rank has its particular seat, along the side of the house; the middle being occupied by the *katokas* and *kawas*, or landholders and slaves, neither of whom have any voice in the affairs of government.

When a meeting is deemed necessary, the oldest or presiding chief sends out his messengers, whose business is to summon the people, which is down by blowing conchs in all directions. The council then assembles, when the head chief lays before them the business, and any one is at liberty to speak, and if he be so disposed, delivers his opinion. No regular vote is taken; but the opinion of the majority is very soon ascertained, and this decides the business.

The chiefs have absolute rule over their own families and slaves, and can punish them at pleasure. Minor crimes are punished by the offended party or his relatives, but in cases of importance, the decision is made and the punishment ordered in council.

The great and marked distinction between these natives and those of Polynesia is the absence of the taboo system, or any laws or prohibitions under the control of the priest, or chiefs, that are believed to emanate from their gods.

The succession in rank and property is hereditary. If a chief has several children by different wives, the son of the mother of the highest rank is the successor. If all the children should be equal in rank, the eldest would receive twice as much land as the others; or if the father does not choose to divide his property, the eldest son would receive the whole, and is obliged to support his brothers and sisters, who are expected in return to work for him, and cannot marry without his consent. Females can inherit property, and there are heiresses in the Kingsmill Group whose wealth allures many suitors. Slaves are held under strict subjection, are considered as personal property, and cannot marry without the consent of their masters.

The religious belief is of the simplest kind. The name of their principal divinity is *Wanigain*, or *Tabu-eriki*. He is their most popular god, and considered by some the greatest. About two-thirds of the people worship him as their tutelary divinity. The rest do not acknowledge him, but have other deities; and some worship the souls of their departed ancestors, or certain birds, fish, and animals. A female deity is the object of adoration to very many. She is called *Itivini*, is reputed to be of a cruel disposition, and all the little children who die are supposed to be killed and eaten by her. The natives always refuse to eat the animals, fish, &c. worshipped by them, but will readily catch them, that others may partake of the food.

A coral stone represents *Tabu-eriki's* image; it is always tied round with cocoa-nut leaves, and these are changed once a month, to



keep them constantly green. The worship paid to this god consists in repeating prayers before this stone, and depositing beside it a portion of the food prepared for their own use.

The female deity, Itivini, is worshipped in a small circle, formed by a number of coral stones, three feet in diameter, which is covered with white gravel; in the centre a cocoa-nut is set up. At the time prayers are offered to her, this nut is bound with a wreath of leaves, and anointed with cocoa-nut oil.

The skulls of ancestors are carefully preserved by their family, and held in great reverence.

Prayers are offered up either in a sitting or standing posture, and are accompanied by no particular ceremony or gesticulations. The prayers are usually petitions for health, long life, success in war, fishing, the arrival of ships, and other blessings they may desire at the moment.

On Makin there is no regular order of priests, and the father of the family, as in the case of the absence of the priest on the other islands, officiates. On this island they have a class of men, which are unknown to the others, conjurers, and persons who pretend to have intercourse with spirits.

The natives of the group put great faith in omens and charms.

The most common mode of divination they call *kaina*, which is performed with the sprout or top of a young cocoa-nut tree. The leaves of this are doubled in after a particular fashion, and according as the folds coincide or not it is deemed a good or a bad omen. When these folds do not coincide, they believe that one of their gods is probably offended, and proceed to find out whether he be so or not, by taking a cocoa-nut that is kept for the purpose, which they spin like a top before the sacred stone or altar. If it falls with the upper end towards the stone it is a favourable omen; if otherwise, the god is angry, and must be appeased by offerings and prayers.

At times they pretend to receive an intimation that their ancestors are displeased, in which case their skulls are taken down and propitiated by offerings.

They believe also in a species of cursing, called *wainak*, which consists in invoking or praying to Death, in order to procure illness or the displeasure of the gods on any one.

Shooting stars are deemed ominous of death to some member of the family, which may occupy the part of the council-house nearest the point of the heavens from which it took its flight. If accompanied by a train, it foretells the death of a female; if otherwise, that of a male.

They believe in an existence after death, and that on the death of a person, his spirit ascends into the air, where it is carried about by the winds, wherever they may chance to blow, until it finally reaches the *Kainakaki* elysium. Only those who are tattooed can expect to reach it; and these are generally persons of rank; all others are intercepted on their way, and doomed by a large giantess, called *Baine*. If those who die are old and feeble, their spirits are conducted to the *Kainakaki* by the shades of those who have died before them. The spirits of children are carried to the realms of

bliss by their female relatives, and are nursed and taken care of until they are able to provide for themselves.

The natives rise at daylight, wash their face, hands, and teeth with fresh water, and afterwards anoint themselves with scented coconut oil. They then proceed to their work, and continue at it until the heat becomes oppressive, which it does by nine or ten o'clock, when they return to their houses, wash themselves again, and take their first meal: all the middle of the day is passed in their houses, or in the *mariapa*, in sleeping, or chatting with their neighbours. About four o'clock in the afternoon they again resume their work, and continue engaged at it until sunset, when they return, and wash themselves for the third time. They then take their second meal, and shortly after dark retire to sleep. They have no torches (except for great occasions), or any other means of lighting their houses, and are thus compelled to retire early, so that their amusements, as well as their occupations, cease with the day. Although these islanders are deceitful and dishonest in their dealings, yet they are, in their intercourse with each other, hospitable and generous; they never buy or sell, but if any person desires an article which another has, he asks for it, and if not too valuable and esteemed is seldom refused: it is the general understanding that such favours are to be returned, and that the request should only be made by persons who can afford to do so. They always place food before a stranger, and any one who has not a sufficient supply at home is at liberty to join the meals of a more fortunate neighbour.

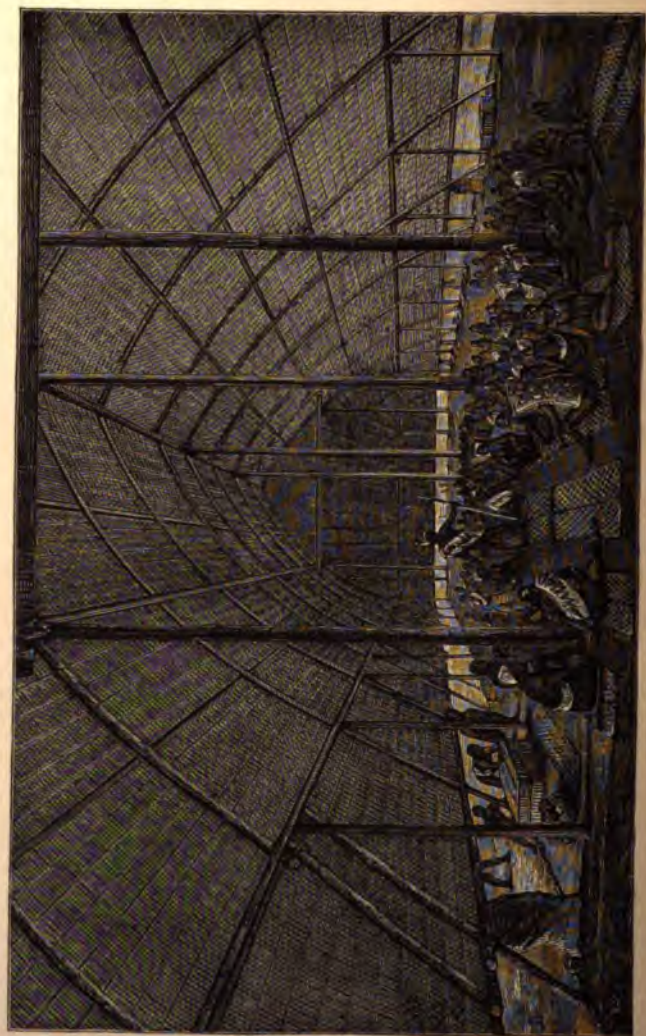
They are addicted to thieving, although they are severely punished for it when detected. They are easily excited to anger, but are soon appeased, nor is the occasion of offence remembered with any feelings of rancour. The women seem to possess stronger passions than the men, and more enduring wrath; jealousy is the principal exciting cause with them, and they will sometimes carry a small weapon made of a shark's tooth, concealed for months, watching an opportunity of making an attack; desperate fights are the consequence of this, and so much injury is done before these ferocious combatants can be parted, that they often suffer from terrible wounds.

Like all savages, they are treacherous and cruel to the last degree.

Another custom is remarkable: when a fisherman arrives with a well-loaded canoe, his neighbours assemble around him, selecting and taking away such as they please, leaving the owner nothing in return but the satisfaction of knowing, that on a similar occasion he has a like privilege to help himself.

The courtesies of life with them are few, and the want of them probably arises from their privilege of making use of what belongs to another as their own. Their salutations on meeting are confined to simple inquiries, "Where are you going?" or "Whence do you come?" The rubbing of noses is only practised on special occasions. On meeting a chief, the other natives leave the path and stand aside until he passes, but make no gestures or expression of obeisance. This same mark of respect is also rendered to all the women by the other sex.





MARIAPA.

They are said to be kind and affectionate to their children, and to indulge them in every thing; they never punish them even for the most insolent and passionate behaviour, only using kind and affectionate words. There is no want of attention to the aged who are not able to provide for themselves; and those who neglect their old relations are held in little respect.

More consideration is awarded to the female sex than was observed in any of the other groups. All the hard labour is performed by the men, whose employment consists in building the houses and canoes, catching fish, collecting and bringing home the produce of their plantations, and attending to the cultivation of the taro, in which the women assist only by weeding the ground. The employment of the females is almost exclusively confined to in-door occupations, such as cooking and preparing food, braiding mats, &c., and they have exclusive control over the house. The work of both sexes is, however, very light, and the greater proportion of their time is spent in pastimes, of which idleness forms the most considerable part. Although the women are relieved from the toils of life, yet they are not held to be above chastisement, and a man will not hesitate to strike a woman; but the fair ones consider themselves equally free, and seldom fail to return the blow, and the aggrieved party generally receives the aid of her companions, when the man is glad to escape from the bruises, blows, and scratches they inflict.

War, on all the islands with the exception of Makin, is a part of their business, and apparently engages most of their attention.

It is only the young and vigorous who go on warlike expeditions, with a few of the older warriors to direct their operations. In their civil wars the old man and the women join in the combat, and the victors make no distinction of age or sex in the massacre which generally ensues.

The bodies of the slain are not generally eaten, but, according to their own account, it occasionally happens that when some noted warrior has been killed, the young men eat portions of his flesh from hatred, and through a desire to appear fierce and terrible.

In Makin, where they have had no wars for a hundred years, they are much less bloodthirsty.

The weapons used among them are shark's-teeth spears and swords. The natives of most of the islands show the effects of these weapons on their bodies and limbs. The armour they use as a protection also claims much of their attention.

Their houses and canoes are better built than any we found elsewhere in the Pacific, and all their structures are large, strong, and durable, though constructed of the most unsuitable materials: they are so well combined as to display much elegance as well as strength. Their dwelling-houses and mariapas have been noticed, but there is another description of house, without a loft, in which the chiefs pass most of their time, receiving visits, and conversing with their friends and dependants.

On the island of Makin the houses are of larger dimensions, in consequence of the abundance of timber. Their mariapa is an

enormous structure. The canoes built in the northern islands are much the largest, some of them being sixty feet in length.

From the importance of their structures or buildings, the trade of a carpenter is held in great repute: those who exercise it are either dependent on the chiefs, working by their orders, or free born: the latter are paid for their services. The time required for building a house is about two months, and the price of such a job, two or three rolls of their bread, called "kabul." A canoe capable of carrying ten persons takes five or six months to build. The payment is proportioned to the length of time occupied in the work. The whole town is engaged in the labour of constructing one of their mariapas. A very great porportion of their time is taken up in the manufacture of their dresses; and while the men are engaged in building houses and canoes, the women fabricate the articles of dress, sails, mats for flooring, and those worn by the men. The mats are made of the leaves of the pandanus, slit into slips about a quarter of an inch wide, and woven by hand: these are of two colours, light yellow and dark brown; the former are made from the young leaves, and the latter from the old, which are prepared by beating them with a mallet to render them pliable. On the yellow mats they bestow a great deal more of their attention: the young leaves are laid aside for



DRUMMOND'S ISLANDER.

two or three days after they are plucked, till they are withered; they are then roasted, by holding them in the hand over the fire, and afterwards laid in the sun for three or four days, to insure them being sufficiently dried. During the latter part of the process, they are brought every evening into the house, to protect them from the dew or rain. The brown and white slips are braided together, so as to form regular figures, square or diamond-shape, which have a pretty effect. The colours being in the material itself, are retained as long as the fabric lasts. The conical cap of the men is at times quite becoming. They cover their shoulders with a small oblong mat, having a slit in the middle through which the head is passed. This part of their dress resembles a "poncho" of small size. The women's dress which they call "iriri," is quite becoming and graceful: it is a kind of fringe, made of cocoa-nut leaves, cut into slips about a foot long, and tied by one end to a string which goes round the middle: it has a light and elegant appearance, and yields to any motion of the body, yet never becomes entangled or out of order.

The natives are very fond of ornamenting themselves: in the lobes

of their ears they wear strings of small leaves of the mangrove, and the pith of a large species of *Scaevola*, which is common in the low islands. This pith is cut into strips and put into a long roll; a wreath of which surrounds the neck, and to which a white ovula-shell or a large whale's tooth hangs suspended on their breast. Long strings of beads or braided hair are worn round the body, at times a hundred fathoms in length, which serve to fasten the mat. The hair for this purpose is taken from the female slaves, and is braided into a string of about the size of a pack-thread. The beads are manufactured by the old men who are beyond doing any other labour, and are of the size of a small button-mould; they are made of cocoa-nut and shell, and strung alternately black and white, being ground down to a uniform size and fitted together for the purpose.

The food of the natives consists principally of fish, from the whale to the sea-slug; shell-fish of every kind are also eaten.

Whales are represented to have been much more abundant formerly, when they at times got aground on some of the numerous shoals, and were killed by the natives with their spears. Even now a carcass occasionally drifts on shore, which affords an acceptable prize. Sharks are caught by enticing them alongside the canoe, with a bait, and enclosing them in a noose. The smaller fish are taken in traps, like eel-pots, made of withes: these the natives set on the bottom, and place pieces of coral on them to keep them there.

Great numbers of fish are also taken in weirs, or enclosures of stone, which are made in the extensive coral flats, that are left bare by every tide; into these the fish are driven at high water, by a number of natives, who surround the shoal; the weir is then closed, and left until the tide falls, when the fish are easily taken in scoop-nets. Large seines are often used in places where the bottom renders it practicable to draw them. Flying-Fish are taken in the daytime, by trailing a hook, attached to a short line, from the stern of a canoe. At night they are caught in scoop-nets, as they fly towards a lighted torch, held in a part of the canoe. Crabs are also decoyed out of their holes at night, by torch-light, and captured.

Turtles are taken in the season on the beaches; and shell-fish, with the sea-slug or biche de mar, are obtained on the reefs by diving. Their vegetable food consists of cocoa-nuts and pandanus, and a variety of the taro, with a small quantity of the bread-fruit. The preparation of these engages a great deal of their attention, and that of the pandanus-nut in particular. When prepared, it is called *kabul* and *karapapa*. The inner or edible portions of these nuts are sliced off, and baked in an oven for several hours, till they are quite hard; they are then taken out, laid on a clean mat and pounded with a large pestle to the consistency of dough; this is spread out upon mats into the form of sheets, about three feet long by eighteen inches wide, and a quarter of an inch thick; these sheets are again laid on mats in the sun to dry, and at night are rolled up, and put away in an oven to bake. This process is repeated for two days, by

which time the plates become as hard and unyielding as a board, and are of a reddish brown colour. Those plates called *kabul* are put away in the loft of their houses, but are every few days brought out into the sun to insure their being kept dry. At the close of the season they are reduced to a powder, not unlike fine sawdust. This is put up in rolls, from eight to ten feet long, and six to twelve inches in diameter, bound with leaves of the *pandanus*, and made so smooth and round that they look like pillars of brown stone: in this state the preparation is called *karapapa*, and will keep for years. This is the principal dependence of the natives in seasons of scarcity, and these rolls of *karapapa* are used as a circulating medium, in which wages and tributes to the chiefs are paid.

They make a kind of broth with *karapapa* and *kamoimoi* (molasses), which the natives drink in great quantities.

*Tuea* is another kind of *kabul*, but made of a better variety of *pandanus*: this is beaten out into thin sheets, resembling dark brown paper, or like our cloth, which is also rolled up and put away: before being eaten, it is soaked for several hours in the milk of the cocoa-nut, and is esteemed a dainty. The *kabul* is generally chewed, and softens in the mouth, the pulp being dissolved, while the large mass of woody fibre remains: it has a sweetish taste.

The *taro* is baked hard, then grated with a shell, and mixed in a trough with *kamoimoi*, until it is of the consistency of thick paste, which is eaten with a spoon made of a human rib. They sometimes grate this *taro* to a powder, and dry it in the sun until it becomes like bread-dust. This powder is made up in short thick rolls, and covered with *pandanus*-leaves, in which state it will keep for months. They call it *kabuibui*. Before being eaten, it is soaked in water, and then baked in a small basket.

*Manam* is another preparation, of baked *taro* and cocoa-nut. These materials are grated fine, mixed together, and then made into balls as large as thirty-two pound shot. It is eaten with *kamoimoi*; and when the whole is not consumed on the day it is made, it is baked, to preserve it from spoiling.

The *karaca*, or *toddy*, is procured from the spathe of the cocoa-nut tree, which is usually about four feet long, and two inches in diameter. From this spathe the fruit is produced; but in order to procure their favourite *toddy*, it is necessary to prevent nature from taking her course in bringing forth the fruit: they bind the spathe up tightly with sennit; the end is then sliced off, and a cocoa-nut shell hung to the projecting part of the spathe, to catch the sap as it exudes. One tree will yield from two to six pints of *karaca*. When first obtained from the tree, it is like the young cocoa-nut milk, and quite limpid; but after it stands for a few hours, it ferments, and becomes acid. When the spathe ceases to drop, another piece is cut off, and every time it ceases to flow, it is treated in the same way, until the spathe is entirely gone. Another spathe is formed soon after above this, which is suffered to grow, and when large enough is treated in the same manner.



The karaca is either drunk fresh from the tree, or made into kamoimoi (the kind of molasses before spoken of), by boiling it down in cocoa-nut shells, set upon hot stones. It strongly resembles our molasses, both in look and taste. When this is mixed with water, it is called karave, and is the usual drink at their feasts, when it is set out in large wooden bowls, from which it is dipped by cups, made of cocoa-nut shells or of human skulls.

These people have, from the little time occupied in cultivating their vegetable productions, a great deal of leisure; consequently, as would naturally be expected, amusements are sought for, and occupy a great part of their time: their festivals and dances are even looked upon as claiming priority to their warlike expeditions, and for these great preparations are always made some days previously. Their greatest festivities take place at the time of full moon, or a few days after it, when the people of one town usually invite those of another, both men and women, to what may be termed a dancing and singing match. On the day appointed, the guests arrive in their canoes, and proceed to the mariapa, where they occupy that portion of it on the side whence they came; the townspeople seat themselves opposite to them. The food which the strangers bring with them is laid in the middle, and as much more is added to it by their hosts, all of which is shared out by the guests among themselves. The dancing now begins, the guests making the first display of their agility, and when they have finished, the people of the town follow. A warm rivalry is thus kept up till evening, when the dancing gives place to singing, each taking up the measure in his turn. This is kept up until midnight, when the townspeople retire, leaving their guests to sleep in the mariapa. These festivities last for three days, after which the visitors depart.

The dances resemble the evolutions of a company of soldiers: the two parties stand in rows, either facing each other, or back to back, or else both face inwards; their motions are confined to the body and arms; the legs, though not entirely at rest, seldom have much action; at times the arms are thrown out from the body, when they give a rapid quivering motion to the fingers, clap their hands together, and afterwards slap them with great force against the thighs and breast, while the body is rocked to and fro. Every movement is made in perfect unison by the whole party, who all keep time with a monotonous song.

At the marriage of a great chief there are great rejoicings, attended with dances and songs; the latter are composed for the occasion, reciting the greatness of the chief, and the prowess and character of his ancestors.

There are many other amusements: among them, football, sailing small canoes, swimming in the surf, and flying kites.

One of their sports differs from any we have seen, and appears to be peculiar to themselves. It is a game in which dancing, fencing, and singing are combined, which produces a very animated and gay spectacle, from the numbers engaged in it, which are often from one to two hundred of both sexes. This sport takes place in

an open space, by moonlight. Each young man chooses a partner from the other sex, and they arrange themselves in two rows, the partners facing each other as in our country-dances. Two couples form a set, and always remain together, but are continually changing places with the rest. Every one is provided with a light stick of the stalk of the cocoa-nut leaf. At a signal given they begin their song, and the dancers strike their sticks together, as if playing at single-sticks, keeping time to the song; at stated points they change places with those next below, and each in turn reaches the head. As these changes all go on simultaneously, the song and clatter of sticks are kept up without interruption, and in excellent time. If a person misses a stroke, there is much laughter, shouting, and joking. The clatter, noises, and singing may be heard for a great distance around.

It would be esteemed very indelicate for a young man to ask his future father-in-law what dowry his wife was to receive; this is never made known until after the wedding, and sometimes is delayed until the birth of the first child. If a separation takes place, which frequently happens, the wife takes back the land and other property which she brought with her.

A few days previous to a marriage, it is formally announced to the relations and friends of both parties, who prepare mats, food, oil, and many other articles, for the festival; these are sent to the dwelling of the bride's father, where the ceremony is to take place. When the day arrives, all repair to the house, dressed and decorated in their gala suits. When thus assembled, the young couple are seated in the midst on a new mat; the priest presses their foreheads together, and pours on their heads a little cocoa-nut oil; he then takes a branch of a tree, dips it in water, and sprinkles their faces, at the same time making a prayer for their future happiness and prosperity. Food is now placed on the mat between them, usually a particular kind of fish, with bread-fruit and taro, which they eat together. They are now considered as married, and the friends and relatives throng around them to offer their congratulations and rub noses.

Children are often betrothed at an early age, sometimes as soon as born, in which case the ceremony of marriage is not deemed necessary. Polygamy, as before observed, is allowed to any extent, and limited only by the ability of the person to support his wives. On Makin, no marriage ceremony takes place, for every female child is betrothed as soon as born, usually to some near relative, who takes her to his house at whatever age he may think proper; and those who are not so betrothed remain all their lives unmarried, forming temporary connexions with the young men who are similarly situated. Of the latter there are great numbers, owing to the majority of the women being monopolised by the wealthy and powerful, to whom this custom affords every facility for obtaining wives. This state of things brings about, as is naturally to be expected, many intrigues and squabbles.

At the birth of a child, the priest gives it a name, at the request of the father; but if the infant should be taken sick soon after-

wards, the first name is abandoned, and another adopted, in hopes that it may prove a more fortunate one. It is very common to call a child after its grandfather.

A woman has seldom more than two, and never more than three living children.

There are professed tattooers, who are held in great estimation, and receive very high prices; this confines the art to the wealthy and those of rank. The young men are not tattooed before the age of twenty, and slaves never.

The women are tattooed in the same manner, but not so much as the men. Owing to the lightness of the lines, and the distance between them, they do not show very conspicuously. The colouring matter used is charcoal, mixed with cocoa-nut oil.

Of all their customs, the funeral ceremonies are the most remarkable. When a man dies, his body is taken to the mariapa, washed, and laid out on a clean mat, where it remains for eight days, and every day at noon it is taken into the sun, washed, and oiled. During this time the friends are engaged in wailing and singing praises of the dead, and dancing: but they think it a great weakness to shed tears on such occasions. After this mourning, the body is sewed up in two mats, and sometimes buried in the house of the nearest relative, the head being always turned towards the east. In other cases, it is stored away in the loft. When the flesh is nearly gone, the skull is taken off, carefully cleaned, oiled, and put away. The skulls of their ancestors are kept by chiefs as a kind of household deity, to which they frequently offer up prayers and entreaties, to have a regard and to keep watchful care over their descendants. The skulls are not unfrequently taken down, bound around with wreaths, anointed with oil, and have food set before them. In passing from one island to another, these skulls are always carried along, as if members of the family, and treated with every mark of reverence.

The funeral ceremonies on Makin are still more extraordinary. After the first ceremonies of wailing, the body is washed and laid out upon a new mat, which is spread on a large oblong plate, made of tortoise-shells sewed together. From two to six persons, according to the size of the corpse, seat themselves opposite to one another on the floor of the house, and hold this plate, with the body



NATIVE OF MAKIN ISLAND.

of their friend, on their knees. When tired, they are relieved by others, and in this way the service is kept up for a space of time varying from four months to two years, according to the rank of the deceased. All persons, whether freeborn or slaves, receive this treatment after death. During the continuance of this lying in state, a fire is kept constantly burning, both day and night, in the house, and its extinction would be regarded as a most unlucky omen. At the end of the period, the remains are sometimes wrapped in mats, and stowed away in the loft of the house, but more commonly they are buried in a piece of ground set apart for the purpose. The grave is marked with three stones, one at the head, another at the foot, and one placed horizontally across these.

The skulls of the chiefs are preserved, and treated in the same way as at the other islands.

From diseases the natives appear to be tolerably free. Consumptions, and a kind of cholera morbus, are the most fatal. There were no cases of elephantiasis seen; but, as has been remarked in speaking of the islands separately, the kind of cutaneous disorder called by the natives *guné*, prevails extensively; this, at some stages of the disease, resembles the ringworm.

The climate of these islands is equable, and although of high temperature, it is found to be less oppressive than in most tropical countries. For the most part constant breezes prevail, and frequent rain falls, which moderates the great heat, and at the same time confers fertility on the soil. From October to April is the winter, and is especially distinguished by the frequency of rains. Variable winds from the northward and westward prevail at this season, and they have violent gales from the south-west; these are typhoon-like. The natives plant stakes to prop up their houses, and tie them down, to prevent them from being blown away. These storms last for three or four days, veering gradually round to the north. The leeward sides of the islands receive most damage, and both land and trees are swept away. In these gales the trunks of large trees are thrown on the west side of the island, together with large humps of resin, similar to that found in the soil at New Zealand, which the natives use to scent their oils with: these trees, sometimes two feet in diameter, were thought to be of the pine species; many stones are found in their roots, from eight to ten inches in diameter; these are a fine basalt, and the natives use them for various purposes.

From May till September the weather is fine, with clear skies, and only occasional showers; and during this time the wind blows constantly from the eastward. This is the season in which the natives make their voyages; they never venture abroad in the winter months, even from island to island, being well aware of the danger of so doing.

Earthquakes are occasionally experienced in these islands. Kirby says he has felt ten or twelve sufficiently severe to shake down a house; the natives exhibit no fear on account of them. The direction of the oscillations seems to be from the south-west.

The population of the group, from the best data which was obtained, is about sixty thousand souls.

There is a striking contrast between the Pitt Islanders and those of the rest of the group ; and if they were originally the same people, which there does not seem to be any reason to doubt, it shows what a great alteration may be effected in the physical race, in the course of two or three generations, by the enjoyment of peace and plenty ; for while the one retains still all the savage and cruel propensities, the other has become mild and humane—proving that a life free from wars, and all their harassing and distressing tendencies, even among savages, brings with it the practice of virtue.



KINGSMILL IDOL.

## CHAPTER XV.

## OREGON AND CALIFORNIA.

Survey of Columbia River—Pilots—Dalles—Fort Wallawalla—Mission of Dr. Whitman—Medicine Woman—Accident at the Dalles—Climate—Fort Colville—Eastern Section—Western Section—Methodist Mission—Indian Population—Mouth of Columbia—Arrival of the Porpoise at San Francisco—Yerba Buena—General appearance of California—Climate—Valley of the Sacramento—The Sierra—The San Joachim—Productions—Sheep and Hogs—Mouth of the Feather River—Elk Herds—Survey of the Sacramento—Country Round the Bay of San Pablo—City of Zonoma—General Vallejo.

**A**FTER the Vincennes had sailed for San Francisco, I made preparations for the survey of Columbia River with the part of the squadron that remained; and for the accommodation of the officers and crew of the Peacock, the American brig Thomas H. Perkins was bought, and renamed the Oregon.

As the parties that had been exploring the country through from Puget's Sound, were expected at Baker's Bay, we began the survey of the river at its mouth, having the pilots (if so they can be called), George and Ramsey, to point out all the localities and channels. These brothers are good specimens of the Chinook tribe: the annexed drawings were made of them.



RAMSEY.



GEORGE.

The semi-civilized practices of these pilots were a great source of amusement to us. At night, among other peculiarities, they took off all their clothes, made a pillow of them, and laid down naked on the beach, with a covering of only a blanket, and this with as much sang froid as if they had been retiring to a comfortable bed.

The surveys by the Expedition were carried up the Columbia, the Willamette, and Cowlitz rivers, as far as the head of navigation, which extends in the former to the Cascades, a distance of one hundred and thirty miles ; above this point the river was traced as far as Wallawalla by Mr. Drayton, who visited all the towns and missionary stations. To him the Expedition is indebted for much information and many sketches, among them the appearance of a child's head after it has undergone the process of flattening.



FRONT VIEW.



SIDE VIEW.

The Dalles is one of the most remarkable places upon this great river ; the whole stream is here compressed into a narrow channel three hundred feet wide, with perpendicular walls of basalt ; the tremendous roar of the river rushing through this outlet may be easily imagined. This place is appropriately called the Billingsgate of Oregon ; here the Indians congregate during the salmon season, which lasts from May till September, in taking the fish and preparing their food for the winter, after which they retire to their villages, and pass the rest of the year in inactivity.

Fort Wallawalla is built of pickets, with a gallery or staging on the inside, whence the pickets may be overlooked. It has two bastions, and on the inside are several buildings constructed of logs and mud. It resembles all the forts built by the Hudson Bay Company, for the protection of their servants against the Indians.

The navigation of the Upper Columbia is performed in boats somewhat resembling whale-boats, only much larger ; they are clinker built, and all the timbers flat ; are covered with the gum of the pine instead of pitch ; these boats are so light that they are easily transported across the portages.

Mr. Drayton also visited the mission establishment of Dr. Whitman, which was then flourishing under the care of himself and wife, but has since been destroyed by the ruthless savage. Here he obtained drawings of the Indians, which will give a better idea of their appearance than any description.

While at Wallawalla Mr. Drayton saw the incantation of a medicine woman over a boy who was in the last stage of disease ;

this was done by her endeavouring to suck the disease from his breast, and to such an extent did she carry this, that she would every now and then faint away from exhaustion. Several hours afterwards she was still found sucking at the boy's breast, and the next day, when the patient was convalescent, she was exhibiting a stone as large as a goose's egg, as the size of the disease she had removed.

The practice of medicine, though profitable, is one of great danger, for if the patient should die it becomes the duty of the next of kin to revenge his death on the person by whose means he died. Such was the case of Mr. Black, an officer of the Hudson Bay Company, in charge of one of the northern posts; he administered some medicine to a chief who requested it of him; after taking it he died. His nearest of kin sought Mr. Black's quarters, under the guise of friendship, and shot him in his own apartment. This took place the same year as our visit; the murderer has since been arrested and executed.



MALE COSTUME.



FEMALE COSTUME.

The navigation of the Columbia above the Dalles is not difficult: the boats pass up in the eddies, or with the strong westerly wind that favours them they make much progress under their sails.

The descent is frequently dangerous, particularly in the rapids, and more especially in the Dalles, where there is to all appearances little danger, the whole gliding onwards quite smoothly, as though there was no treachery within its flow, when suddenly the waters will begin to move in extended and slow whirls, gradually increasing in velocity



until it narrows itself into almost a funnel shape, when having drawn towards it all within its reach, it suddenly engulfs the whole, and again resumes its tranquil state.

As Mr. Ogden, of the Hudson Bay Company, was descending the Columbia, in a boat, with ten experienced voyageurs, an awful accident occurred at the Dalles. The voyageurs desired to run the boat through, in order to save the portage. Mr. Ogden did not believe the river to be as safe as they thought, and decided to be landed, to pass the portage on foot. From the top of the bank he saw the boat skim over the waters like the flight of a bird; but he soon perceived it to stop. The struggle of the oarsmen together with the anxious shout of the bowman, soon told him that they had encountered the whirl. Strongly they plied their oars, and deep anxiety was expressed in their movements. They began to move, not forward, but onwards with the whirl; round they were swept with increasing velocity, still struggling to avoid the now evident fate that awaited them; a few more turns, each more rapid than the last, until they reached the centre, when in an instant the boat with all her crew disappeared, when the waters regained their tranquillity. Only one body out of the ten was afterwards found, torn and mangled by the strife it had undergone in its passage through the Dalles.

The climate of the Upper Columbia is considered healthy; the atmosphere is dry, and there are no dews. From May till November little rain falls, but in winter they have much rain and some snow. The cold is seldom great, although the thermometer has been known to fall to  $-18^{\circ}$ . The greatest heat experienced in summer is  $100^{\circ}$  Fahr. The nights are always cool and pleasant.

The country bordering the Upper Columbia is the poorest tract of the territory, being generally sterile, and in places a waste of sand; that which lies removed from it affords excellent pasturage, and many localities where cultivation could be carried on successfully.

The parties of the Expedition penetrated the country as far as Fort Colville, which is on the Columbia, five hundred miles from its mouth. This fort is situated within the eastern district, and is the only place where cultivation has been carried on in it extensively. The farm attached to the fort supplies all the upper posts of the Company with flour, &c., and most of the cereals have been found to succeed well; however, I do not conceive the position of Fort Colville gives a fair test of the capabilities of the eastern section; it is rather too favourable. The climate throughout the district is extremely changeable, the temperature often undergoes a change of  $50^{\circ}$  or  $60^{\circ}$  in the space of a few hours; there are sheltered spots where this does not occur, but these are few. The soil is productive in places, but the extreme roughness of the country, owing to its being traversed by the spurs from the Rocky Mountains, renders it for the most part but ill adapted for settlement.

The western or coast section of Oregon was thoroughly explored by the Expedition, from the Straits of De Fuca to the dividing line between it and California.

This is the agricultural region, and the most productive. The

climate is extremely fine and well adapted to the raising of all kinds of produce, excepting Indian corn, which does not thrive well.

This portion of Oregon is well timbered, and watered by many fine streams; the valleys through which the streams pass are exceedingly fertile: among them may be mentioned that of the Willamette, where a settlement was first made. This valley is watered by the river of the same name and its numerous small tributaries. It was chosen as the place of operation for the Methodist mission under the Rev. Mr. Lee, and a school was established for the Indians, but it has not been as successful as the lovers of the cause wished. One cause of its failure is that the Indians hereabouts are few: they are the remnants of scattered tribes, who are nomadic in their habits, and little inclined to undergo the restraints of any kind of discipline or confinement.

The Indian population throughout the territory, according to estimates derived from the best authorities, is not over twenty thousand; this includes all the Indian tribes west of the Rocky Mountains. The whites and half-breeds, in 1841, were between seven and eight hundred, of whom but one hundred and fifty were Americans; since which time they have increased to twenty thousand from immigration, and this is still rapidly going on since the country has become a territory of the United States.

It is greatly to be regretted that the mouth of the Columbia River should be such a bad harbour, and so difficult of ingress and egress; but this will only affect the lower part of the territory, as the waters of Puget's Sound are equally near to the most important parts of it, and there are no finer harbours to be found than are embraced within those limits. I have given a detailed account of them in my Hydrographical Memoir, and those who are desirous of further information respecting them are referred to it.

A party was also sent from the Expedition through to California, starting from Vancouver, on the Columbia; their account of the country was favourable for settlement until they approached the Klamet valley, where the surface became exceedingly rough and broken, being traversed by the spurs of Mount Shaste, and so continued until they reached the valley of the Sacramento.

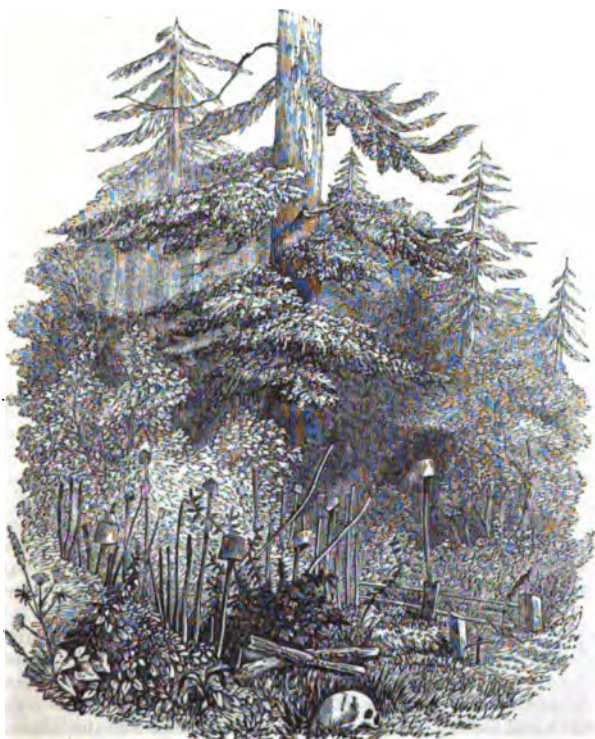
By the last of September the surveys of the Columbia River had been completed, and all the repairs and necessary alterations made to the brig Oregon, and after a detention of a few days in Baker's Bay and off the mouth of the river, we took our departure for San Francisco, and reached that place by the 19th of October.

We found the Vincennes anchored at Sausalito, all well, and the surveys which they had been instructed to make nearly finished.

On approaching the coast in the neighbourhood of San Francisco, the country has by no means an inviting aspect. To the north, it rises in a lofty range, whose highest point is known as the Table Hill, and forms an iron-bound coast from Punto de los Reyes to the mouth of the harbour.

To the south, there is an extended sandy beach, behind which rise the sand-hills of San Bruno, to a moderate height. There are no symptoms of cultivation, nor is the land on either side fit for it; for

in the former direction it is mountainous, in the latter sandy, and in both barren. The entrance to the harbour is striking; bold and rocky shores confine the rush of the tide, which bore us on and through a narrow passage into a large estuary: in this, several islands and rocks lie scattered around; some of the islands are clothed with vegetation to their very tops; others are barren and covered with guano, having an immense number of sea-fowls hovering over, around, and alighting upon them. The distant shores of the bay extend north and south far beyond the visible horizon, exhibiting one of the most spacious, and at the same time safest ports in the world. To the east rises a lofty inland range, known by the name of La Sierra, brilliant with all the beautiful tints that the atmosphere of this climate produces.



INDIAN BURIAL PLACE.

Yerba Buena is the usual though by no means the best anchorage. The town was not calculated to produce a favourable impression on

a stranger. Its buildings may be counted, and consist of a large frame building, occupied by the agent of the Hudson Bay Company; a store, kept by Mr. Spears, an American; a billiard-room and bar; a poop cabin of a ship, occupied as a dwelling by Captain Hinckley; a blacksmith's shop and some out-buildings. These, though few in number, are also far between. When to this we add a sterile soil and hills of bare rock, it will be seen that Yerba Buena and the country around it are anything but beautiful. This description holds good when the tide is high, but at low water it has for a foreground an extensive mud-flat, which does not add to the beauty of the view.

At the time of our visit the country altogether presented rather a singular appearance. Instead of a lively green hue, it had generally a tint of a light straw-colour, showing an extreme want of moisture. The drought had continued for eleven months; the cattle were dying in the fields; and the first view of California was not calculated to make a favourable impression either of its beauty or fertility.

There is, perhaps, no other country where there is such a diversity of features, soil, and climate, as California. The surface exhibits the varieties of lofty ranges of mountains, confined valleys, and extensive plains. On the coast, a range of high land extends in length from Cape Mendocino to latitude  $32^{\circ}$  N., and in breadth into the interior from ten to twenty miles.

The valley of San Juan, of no great extent, lies between these hills and the Sierra, which is a low range of mountains. East of the Sierra is the broad valley of the Sacramento, which is prolonged to the south as far as Mount San Bernardino, under the thirty-fourth parallel. Beyond this valley is the Californian Range, which is a continuation of the Cascade Range of Oregon, and whose southern summits are capped with snow. This range gradually decreases in height, until it declines into hills of moderate elevation. To the east of the Californian Mountains are the vast sandy plains, forming a wide trackless waste, destitute of everything that can fit it for the habitation of man or beast.

The soil is as variable as the face of the country. On the coast range of hills there is little to invite the agriculturist, except in some vales of no great extent. These hills are, however, admirably adapted for raising herds and flocks, and are at present the feeding-grounds of numerous deer, elk, &c., to which the short sweet grass and wild oats that are spread over them afford a plentiful supply of food. No attempts have been made to cultivate the northern part of this section, nor is it susceptible of being the seat of any large agricultural operations.

The valley of the Sacramento and that of San Juan are the most fruitful parts of California, particularly the latter, which is capable of producing wheat, Indian corn, rye, oats, &c., with all the fruits of the temperate and many of the tropical climates. It likewise offers fine pasture-grounds for cattle. This region comprises a level plain, from fifteen to twenty miles in width, extending from the bay of San Francisco, beyond the mission of that name, north and south. This may be termed the garden of California; but although several

small streams and lakes serve to water it, yet in dry seasons or droughts, not only the crops but the herbage also suffers extremely, and the cattle are deprived of food.

The Sierra affords little scope for cultivation, being much broken, barren and sandy. It is in places covered with cedar, pine, and oak; but it offers few inducements to the settler. The great valley of Sacramento next succeeds, which although it offers more prospects of profitable cultivation, is by all accounts far inferior to that of San Juan. It lies nearly parallel to the latter, and is watered by the San Joachim river and its branches.

In this valley the Californian Indians principally dwell. The San Joachim receives its waters from the many streams that issue from the Californian range of mountains. These are well wooded, their base being covered with oaks, to which succeeds the red California cedar (*Schubertia abertina*), and after it, in a still higher region, pines, until the snows are encountered. On the eastern side of this range, there is found very little timber, and in consequence of the want of moisture, trees do not flourish, even on the west side. The inland plain, constituting a large part of Upper California, is, according to all accounts, an arid waste; the few rivers that exist being periodical, and losing themselves in the sandy soil.

In climate, California varies as much if not even more than in natural features and soil. On the coast range, it has as high a mean temperature in winter as in summer. The latter is in fact the coldest part of the year, owing to the constant prevalence of the north-west winds, which blow with the regularity of a monsoon, and are exceedingly cold, damp, and uncomfortable, rendering fire often necessary for comfort in midsummer. This is, however, but seldom resorted to, and many persons have informed me that they have suffered more from cold at Monterey, than in places of a much higher latitude. The climate thirty miles from the coast undergoes a great change, and in no part of the world is there to be found a finer or more equable one than in the valley of San Juan. It more resembles that of Andalusia, in Spain, than any other, and none can be more salubrious. The cold winds of the coast have become warmed, and have lost their force and violence, though they retain their freshness and purity. This strip of country is that in which the far-famed missions have been established; and the accounts of these have led many to believe that the whole of Upper California was well adapted for agricultural uses. This is not the case, for the small district already pointed out is the only section of country where these advantages are to be found. This valley extends beyond the pueblo of San Juan, or to the eastward of Monterey: it is of no great extent, being about twenty miles long by twelve wide.

The Sierra, which separates the valley of San Juan from that of Sacramento, is about one thousand five hundred feet high, barren and sandy. Pines cover its summit, and the climate is exceedingly dry and arid, though cooled by the fresh wind that passes beyond them.

The Sacramento is the largest river in California. One of its branches, Destruction River, takes its rise near Mount Shasta, and

was examined throughout the whole of its course by our land party, until it joined the Sacramento. The Sacramento has its source in the eastern spurs of the Shaste Mountain.

The first branch of any size in descending the Sacramento is that called Feather River, which joins it below the Prairie Butes, coming from the north-east. This branch takes its rise in the California Mountains, near their northern end, and has a course of about forty miles. The American River is a small branch that joins the Sacramento at New Helvetia. After receiving this stream, the Sacramento is joined by the San Joachim, which courses from the south, and below their confluence enters the bays of San Pablo and San Francisco.

The Sacramento is navigable for boats to the distance of one hundred and fifty miles, and for vessels as far as New Helvetia. The upper portion of it, near the Prairie Butes, overflows its banks, and submerges the whole of the Sacramento valley as far down as the San Joachim.

The yield of wheat is remarkable, and in some places, where the land is well situated, very large returns are received. Mr. Spears, of Yerba Buena, informed me that he had delivered to an active American farmer thirty bushels of wheat for seed, at a time when it was difficult to procure it, under an agreement that he should have the refusal of the crop at the market price. In the July following, he delivered him three thousand bushels, and on its delivery he found that the farmer had reserved six hundred bushels for himself; and this, without estimating the loss from bad reaping and treading out with horses, would give one hundred and twenty for one.

Indian corn yields well, as also potatoes, beans, and peas. The cultivation of vegetables is increasing rapidly, and supplies in these latter articles may be had in abundance, and of the finest quality.

Besides cattle, the country is well adapted for the raising of sheep, which simply require watching, as they can find plenty of nutritious food the whole year round; but there has been no attention paid to this sort of stock, and the wool is of very ordinary quality. The mutton is thought to be of very fine flavour.

Hogs are raised in some parts, and might be fed to great advantage on the acorns which are abundant on the hills, where the land is not susceptible of cultivation. Pork may be packed at three dollars the hundred weight. What adds to the facility of doing this business, is the fact that large quantities of salt collect in the ponds in the dry season, which may be obtained for the expense of carting it.

Since our survey of the Sacramento, California has passed into our hands, and become the scene of attraction from its wonderful mineral resources, especially of the precious metals. The discovery of these took place on the American Fork, on the property of Captain Suter, who lives at New Helvetia, which has now become a well-known spot. Captain Suter is a Swiss by birth, and was a lieutenant in the Swiss Guards, during the time of Charles X. Soon after the revolution of July, he came to the United States, and passed several years in the State of Missouri. He has but recently removed to California, where he has obtained from the government a conditional

grant of thirty leagues square, bounded by the Sacramento on the west, and extending as far up the river as the Prairie Butes. The spot he has chosen for the erection of his dwelling and fortification, he has called New Helvetia; it is situated on the summit of a small knoll, rising from the level prairie, two miles from the east bank of the Sacramento, and fifty miles from its mouth. New Helvetia is bounded on the north by the American Fork, a small serpentine stream, which has a course of but a few miles. This river having a bar near its mouth, no vessels larger than boats can enter it. At this place the Sacramento is eight hundred feet wide, and this may be termed the head of its navigation during the dry season, or the stage of low water.

When Captain Suter first settled here in 1839, he was surrounded by some of the most hostile tribes of Indians on the river; but by his energy and management, with the aid of a small party of trappers, has thus far prevented opposition to his plans. He has even succeeded in winning the good-will of the Indians, who are now labouring for him in building houses, and a line of wall to protect him against the inroads or attacks that he apprehends, more from the present authorities of the land, than from the tribes about him, who are now working in his employ. He holds, by appointment of the government, the office of administrator, and has, according to his own belief, supreme power in his own district, condemning, acquitting, and punishing, as well as marrying and burying those who are under him. He treats the Indians very kindly, and pays them well for their services in trapping and working for him. His object is to attach them, as much as possible, to his interests, that in case of need he may rely upon their chiefs for assistance.



MASKS OF THE NORTH-WEST INDIANS.

Captain Suter has commenced extensive operations in farming; but in the year of our visit the drought had affected him, as well as others, and ruined all his crops. About forty Indians were at work for him, whom he had taught to make adobes. The agreement for their services is usually made with their chiefs, and in this way as many as are wanted are readily obtained. These chiefs have far more authority over their tribes than those we had seen at the north; and in the opinion of an intelligent American, they have more power over, and are more respected by, their tribes than those

of any North American Indians. Connected with the establishment, Captain Suter has erected a distillery, in which he makes a kind of pisco from the wild grape of the country.



PIPES OF THE NORTH-WEST INDIANS.

On the opposite side of the bay of San Pablo, or to the west, are some of the finest tracts of country in California. One of these is called the Valley of Nappa, another that of Zonoma, and a third San Rafael. In Zonoma is situated the town of the same name, the residence of General Vallejo, and the mission of San Rafael. The fertile country extends across to Ross and Bodega, two Russian settlements which have been ceded to Captain Suter. Zonoma is the seat of government, and is situated in an extensive plain, with some high hills for its southern boundary. The plain is covered with fine oaks, and there is a never-failing stream of water passing through it. There is besides an inlet from the bay, which allows a boat navigation to it of about twelve miles.



UMPQUA INDIAN GIRL.

Upper California, which now belongs to the United States, contains about four hundred thousand square miles. The great proportion of it lies on the east of the California range of mountains, which traverse it from north to south, at from eighty to one hundred miles from the coast, and in a line parallel to it. The interior has been but little explored, but its characters are very well known, and that the whole central part of it is devoid of the necessities for the subsistence of both man and beast, and never can become the abode of civilisation, and places somewhat a barrier to the approach to the "El Dorado." It is throughout an elevated plain, descending gradually to the south, the northern portion forming a kind of central basin between four and five thousand feet above the level of the sea, arid and destitute.



The climate of the western section of California is extremely salubrious, but thought to be unfavourable for agriculture. The year is divided into two seasons, the wet and dry; the first is between December and March, and the latter the remainder of the year. During the wet season rain falls in deluges; but in the dry not a drop is experienced, and drought occurs annually, and sometimes continues throughout the year, and everything that cannot be irrigated is destroyed.

The productions are numerous of this western section, which contains about twelve thousand square miles of tillable land.

Both Oregon and California are well adapted for raising of stock; the former for its natural hay, and the latter for its nutritious grasses. Cattle thrive well the whole year and require no housing or feeding.

The mineral wealth, in the precious metals, is now believed to be exhaustless, and has a range from the Umpqua to the Gulf of California, throughout which this geological formation extends. Besides gold, platinum, silver, copper, iron, tin, lead and mercury are found; and sulphur in its crystallised state, is said also to exist in large quantities.

Indian tribes on the west of the Rocky Mountains, seem to be inferior to those on the east of that chain. In stature, strength, and activity, they are much below them; their social organisation is more imperfect. The two classes of chiefs, the ceremony of initiation for the young men, the distinction of clans or totems, and the various important festivals which exist among the eastern tribes, are unknown to those of Oregon. Their conceptions on religious subjects are of a lower cast. It is doubtful if they have any Supreme Being; their chief divinity is called the *Wolf*, and from their descriptions is a sort of compound being, half beast and half deity.

The mode of life of the Oregon Indians is peculiar; they have no fixed habitations, but wander from place to place in rotation, according to the months of the year, with great regularity. This is owing to their subsistence being derived from the natural productions of the soil, and the produce of the rivers and bays; and with their abode a change of food takes place.

The Indians are very much divided up into small tribes, who are, however, all strongly marked with the Indian physiognomy—a broad face, with high cheek-bones, the opening of the eye long and narrow, and the forehead low. They are for the most part filthy in their habits, and of a cruel and treacherous disposition. Those of Northern Oregon are among the ugliest of their race, and have a coarse rough skin of a dingy copper complexion.

Those of South Oregon are more like the Indians east of the Rocky mountains. The Columbia River divides these two divisions. Their costume does not differ materially throughout, except that heretofore given of those in the interior, and the annexed wood-cut from a sketch by Mr. Agate is exceedingly characteristic.

All the tribes are greatly addicted to gambling.

The Indians of California are chiefly to be distinguished by their

dark colour; the more northern ones are a shade browner than the Oregon Indians, but the tribes of the Peninsula are nearly black. They are believed to have sprung from two different sources the more northern tribes from the Mongolian race, while the southern ones are from the Malay—the migration of the former, having been by the northern route or chain of islands and across the Straits, while that of the latter has been by the route of Japan and the Sandwich Islands.

The supposition is strong that the numerous small tribes of western America are the scattered remnants of these wandering nations, left along the line of march as they travelled from the frozen regions of the north towards the south. This supposition derives some strength from the fact that such migrations are actually now in progress; all the tribes are slowly proceeding towards the south. Another circumstance is, that the tribes speaking allied languages lie north and south of each other, or in the direction of such supposed migration.



CALLAPUYA INDIAN.

## CHAPTER XVI.

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SAN FRANCISCO TO MANILLA.

Preparations for Sailing—Departure from San Francisco—Dangerous Position of the Vincennes—The Squadron at Honolulu—Trade and Resources of the Hawaiian Group—Departure from Honolulu—Final Disposition of the Squadron—Cruise of the Vincennes—Wake's Island—Manilla—The Vincennes and Flying-Fish join Company—Cruise of the Flying-Fish—Manilla.



COMPLETING the duties of the observatory and surveys by the 28th of October, 1841, all the exploring parties had returned to San Francisco, and preparations were made to sail with the first fair wind.

The brig bought to supply the loss of the Peacock, wrecked on the bar of the Columbia, I now new-named the Oregon, and gave the command of it to Lieutenant Carr, first lieutenant of the Vincennes. It was with no little regret that I parted with Lieutenant Carr, the executive

officer of my ship for upwards of two years, during which time his duties had been at all times responsible, arduous, and valuable to the Expedition.

To complete our supplies for the return voyage, it was expedient that we should again visit the Hawaiian Group: this was rendered absolutely necessary, in order to procure clothing for those who had lost everything by the wreck of the Peacock.

This necessity, added to the other delays the unfortunate loss of the Peacock had caused, was a source of profound regret, as it prevented me from availing myself of the permission granted in my instructions, to enter the Sea of Japan, through the Straits of Sangar. I gave up this plan, to which I had looked forward as one of the most interesting parts of our cruise, with great reluctance; but the season was rapidly passing, and to undertake this remote expedition would render it impossible to accomplish the other objects marked out for me previous to my return to the United States. We might not, perhaps, have succeeded in entering into communication with the inhabitants of that interesting and little-known country; but we might certainly, by landing on some of the islands adjacent to its coast, have obtained much interesting

information, and added greatly to the collections of our scientific departments.

On the 1st of November, we had a wind that enabled us to make sail. To avoid any farther loss of time, I determined to make the attempt. Signal was accordingly made; and the vessels were in a few minutes under way, and standing out of the harbour. It may, indeed, be said, that it is practicable to enter and depart from this port whenever the tide is favourable. We continued beating out to gain an offing until towards sunset, when it fell calm, and the tide failed us. The *Vincennes* was, therefore, compelled to anchor in six and three-fourths fathoms water, three miles from the land; and signal was made to the two brigs, which were about three miles outside of our position, to do the same.

On our coming to anchor, there was scarcely any swell, and the ship lay almost as still as if she had been within the harbour. The sun set clear, and everything betokened a calm and quiet night.

At about 10 P.M. the swell began to increase, without any apparent cause, and so rapidly as to awaken my anxiety; but being in such deep water, I thought that the vessel was sufficiently distant from the bar not to be exposed to any breakers. As the flood continued to make, the swell increased, and by midnight we were enveloped in fog, without a breath of air, and the ship rode over the rollers, that were now becoming very heavy, and caused her to pitch violently. There was, however, no break to them; but, as ample scope of cable had been given, the ship occasionally swung broadside to, when the heavy pitching was changed to rolling so deep as to endanger our masts. At 2 A.M. a breaker was heard outside of us, passing in with the roar of a surf, after which they became constant and really awful. The ship might now be said to be riding in breakers of gigantic size; they rushed onwards with such a tremendous roar and violence, that as each wave was heard approaching, it became a source of apprehension until it had safely passed. Such was its force that when it struck the ship, the chain cable would surge, the ring-stoppers part, and some few fathoms of the cable escape. As the time of high water approached, the roar of these immense breakers was constant. The ship was as if tempest-tossed, and our situation became at each moment one of greater solicitude. The actual danger of wreck was not indeed great, for in the event of parting our cable, the tide would have carried us towards the harbour, and into deeper water, where the rollers would have ceased to break; and there was no great danger that we would drift on the bar, which was a mile or two to the northward of our position.

I looked forward with anxiety for the time of high water, as the period when we should be relieved from our unpleasant situation, not only by the change in the course of the tide, but also by the cessation of the breakers.

At half-past three, one of these immense breakers struck the ship broad on the bow, and broke with its full force on board: the cable surged; the stoppers were carried away, and the whole spar-deck swept fore and aft; the boats and booms broke adrift, the

former were stove, and the latter thrown with violence to one side.

Unfortunately, Joseph Allshouse, a marine, who was in the act of ascending the ladder at the time, was struck by one of the spars, and so much injured that he died a few hours afterwards.

It was not until between seven and eight o'clock that the ship could be relieved from this situation : at that time a light air from the land sprung up, of which advantage was at once taken to weigh our anchor. The rollers, however, had by this time ceased to break, the sea began to fall, and a few hours afterwards regained its former placid and quiet state. The fog was still dense when we reached deep water, where we again dropped anchor ; shortly after the weather cleared up, and we had communication with the Porpoise and Oregon ; they having reached deeper water, had fortunately not experienced any of the rollers.

We now got under way, and stood for the Bay of Monterey, from whence we made the best of our way to the Sandwich Islands.

On the morning of the 16th, we made the island of Maui, and on the 17th, at daylight, the island of Oahu, anchoring at 10 A.M. off the town of Honolulu. The Porpoise came in at 2 P.M., and the Flying-Fish at five o'clock of the same day.

The trade of the Hawaiian Group is at present confined within very narrow limits. The islands produce but little, and their consumption of foreign products is necessarily small. The capabilities of the islands have generally been underrated, for their soil and climate are suitable for raising all tropical productions in considerable quantities, and at a moderate cost. But very little investment of capital has yet taken place, and the business that has induced the establishment of several commercial houses has been more that of transit than for the purpose of supplying the consumption of the islands, or obtaining their exports. A table of statistics, which was published in a newspaper at Oahu, and compiled by intelligent merchants there, gives the amount of imports actually landed at four hundred and fifty-five thousand dollars, while the exports of native produce are no more than ninety-eight thousand dollars. From this great difference between the imports and exports, it would appear that many of these articles must have been re shipped to other ports, or are still on hand. The latter I believe to be the case. The trade on the north-west coast, formerly so much resorted to by our vessels, is entirely broken up by the Russians, who have interdicted the taking of furs on the coast of their territory, and obtain their supplies exclusively from the Hudson Bay Company, or by the latter, who have adopted the principle of underselling all competitors, and have thereby caused a monopoly, which effectually shuts out all small traders. Some articles of Chinese manufacture are sent from the Sandwich Islands to Mexico, but to no great amount. There are, comparatively, few transient vessels that call at these islands on their way to China, and the whole trade seems now confined to but a few vessels. One-half of the imports is set down as received from the United States.

Although the Sandwich Islands are not so fruitful as many of the

other islands of Polynesia, yet their geographical situation has rendered them hitherto by far the most important group in the Pacific Ocean.

They are the favourite and most convenient resource for those whale-ships whose cruising-ground is the North Pacific; and the amount of property engaged in this business, visiting the ports of the Sandwich Islands annually, is equal to three millions of dollars. To the supply of this fleet the labour of the inhabitants has principally been directed.

The chiefs have ceased to look to their groves of sandal-wood as a source of profit, and have begun the cultivation of sugar, which, together with silk, now attract much attention; but until some capital be invested in these cultures, and the business be better understood, these articles cannot be raised to any large amount; yet the provisions and supplies to ships suffice to afford all the necessary comforts to the inhabitants of this group.

Fortunately for the Sandwich Islands, they have no port that is defensible against a strong naval force, and therefore their consequence will be comparatively small in a political point of view. No foreign power, in fact, could well hold them, without great expense and difficulty. Honolulu is the port where vessels can best receive repairs, but it can only be used by the smaller class. By these circumstances, the neutral position of this group I think is insured; and this is most desirable for its peace and happiness. This fact seems to me to be tacitly acknowledged by the maritime powers, as no attempt has as yet been made to take possession of them, and they will, in all probability, be long left in the enjoyment of their neutrality, which King Kamehameha III. is now endeavouring to establish through a formal recognition of his kingdom by the United States, England, and France, by negotiations that are now pending. Such recognition will render them less liable, if not altogether exempt from aggressions. These islands seem intended for peaceful occupations alone; their products, situation, and inhabitants, require and wish it. The power on which they must become dependent hereafter, is that which is to be established in Oregon and California; and, adapted as they are to supply all the products of the tropics, they will become a valuable appendage to those states; but I deem the idea entertained by many, who suppose they ever can become so powerful as to command those states, to be a mistake. So far as the consumption of a small amount of manufactures go, and the convenience of our whaling fleet, but no farther, they will be beneficial to the United States. In this relation, the character of the government becomes a source of solicitude to us. It is the interest of the United States that they should maintain the neutrality that they seek to establish, and should not be permitted to fall into the hands of any other power.

It is impossible for a disinterested person to reside any time among these natives, without imbibing a strong interest in the progress of their institutions, and the development of their government. In the Hawaiians are seen many things to condemn; but they have on the other hand, many good qualities, which their religious

instructors are endeavouring by every means in their power to foster and develop. In taking leave of them, I cannot recall a single instance in which they did not conduct themselves towards us with a full belief that they were acting right ; and I feel rejoiced to say, that during all our intercourse with them, no incident occurred to mar the harmony which existed on our first arrival. I am, indeed, fully persuaded that with proper attention and forbearance no difficulties will ever occur. One thing, however, ought always to be borne in mind on visiting this island, viz. : that too much credit must not be given to those who will on your first arrival endeavour to impress on you their own views of the character of the people, and of those who have been their benefactors, and are constant in their exertions to promote the welfare of those they live among. The natives and the latter class are far better able to judge what the islands require or stand in need of than any casual visitor, or he who may be a sojourner only for a few weeks.

I shall always think with pleasure and satisfaction of the many friends we left in the Hawaiian Group ; and I am fully satisfied, that, with few exceptions, and those growing out of a mistaken zeal, our country has just reason to be proud of the advance these islanders have made within the last twenty-five years in civilisation, morals, and religion ; an advance that has been almost wholly the work of our citizens, either at home or abroad, the one in furnishing the means, the other in giving the instruction.

On the afternoon of the 27th of November, we took our final leave of the Hawaiian Islands.

Although it was out of my power to visit Japan, I had determined if possible to ascertain the character of the currents off that island. I therefore directed the Porpoise and Oregon to follow out,

and explore the shoals and reefs extending in a west-north-west direction from the Hawaiian Islands, and proceed until they fell in with the current or stream that is supposed by some to set along the coasts of Japan, and resemble the Gulf Stream off our coast. This done, they were ordered to proceed through the China Seas, to Singapore.

With the Vincennes and tender it was my intention to proceed to Strong's and Ascension Islands, which the Peacock had been unable to reach in her cruise, examining every shoal that might lie in my way, and thence to Manilla. I proposed on leaving that port to explore and survey the Sooloo Archipelago, then proceeding to Singapore to meet the brigs, fill up with provisions, and thence sail for the United States, where it was incumbent on me to arrive by the 31st of May following. This, agreeably to my promise to my



JAPANESE.

crew a year previous, left me just six months to perform the duty, of which at least one hundred and forty days were required for the actual passage.

We parted company from the brigs the next day at noon, and bore away under all sail to the southward and westward.

On the 19th of December we discovered Wake's Island, about nine miles distant. It is a low coral one, of triangular form, eight feet above the surface, and has a large lagoon in the centre.

On the 29th of December we made the islands of Assumption and Grigan. The latter appears to be about eight miles in width, seen from the north, and has the form of a dome. Its height was found to be two thousand three hundred feet. It was my intention to stop and make it a magnetic station; but the weather appeared so thick as to threaten delay; and this I could ill afford, so I gave up the idea.

There is said to be no other settlement than one small village, on the south-west side of Grigan, where a few individuals dwell, and I understood that they were headed by an American; its shores are almost perpendicular, and it has no coral reefs to form harbours; so that in this respect it is not so favoured as the southern isles of the same group. The passage between Grigan and Assumption is free from dangers.

On the 5th of January, 1842, we had left the Pacific Ocean, and I could not but rejoice that we had all the results of our cruise up to this time quite safe.

I now stood to the southward along the island of Luzon, to pass just clear of Cape Bolinao. On the 9th we continued to have very strong winds. A very heavy sea arose, without apparent cause; the progressing motion of the waves in passing the ship was twenty-two miles per hour; their width, as near as it could be



MANILLA BANCA.

ascertained, was one hundred and forty yards. At sunset of the 10th, we were off Cape Capones, and numerous lights were seen on shore.



The next day the Flying-Fish was discovered at 3h. 30m. P.M., beating in. Signal was made for her to join company.

On arriving at the island of Corregidor, we were boarded by a government galley, having a large brass twelve-pound piece mounted on the bow. These vessels, I understood, are intended principally to pursue the pirates of Sooloo, who not unfrequently make excursions among the islands, attacking the villages, and carrying off the inhabitants as slaves. They are manned by the natives of this island, who are represented as active and expert sailors, although they are, generally, of small size.

The Flying-Fish had visited the Mulgrave Islands, Bapham's, Hunter's, Baring's, and the Mackenzie Group, and passed over several portions assigned to shoals and reefs; the time allotted did not permit a visit to Ascension and Strong's Island, nor to range through the whole of the Caroline Group.

On the night of the 4th of January they entered the Straits of Bernadino, which they passed through, and anchored under Cape St. Jago on the 11th, whence they sailed, and reached Manilla as before stated.

I now felt myself secure against further detention, and hoped to expedite my duties, so as to reach Singapore in the time designated in my instructions.



## CHAPTER XVII.

## MANILLA.

Arrival at Manilla—Anchorage—City and its Buildings—Its Population—City Government—Discovery and Occupation of the Philippines—Policy of the Conquerors—Geological Features of the Islands—Productions and Agriculture—Agricultural Implements—Use of the Buffalo—Culture of Rice—Manilla Hemp—Coffee—Sugar—Cotton—Mode of taking Produce to Market—Profits of Agriculture—Ravages of Locusts—Inhabitants—Native Tribes—Policy of the Government—Capabilities for Commerce—Internal Disturbances—Visit to the Governor—Tenure and Emoluments of his Office—Royal Cigar Manufactory—Manufactures—Pina—Occupations of the Higher Classes—Marriages—Drive on the Prado—Theatre—Tertulia—Dress of the Natives—Cock-Fighting—Market—Environs of the City—Campo Santo—System of Government—Expedition to the Interior—Return to the City—Departure from Manilla.

ON the 13th of January, 1842, we reached the roadstead of Manilla.

A number of vessels were lying in the roads, among which were several Americans loading with hemp. There was also a large English East Indiaman, manned by Lascars, whose noise rendered her more like a floating Bedlam than anything else to which I can liken it.

Manilla is situated on an extensive plain, gradually swelling into distant hills, beyond which, again, mountains rise in the background, to the height of several thousand feet. The latter are apparently clothed with vegetation to their summits. The city is in strong contrast to this luxuriant scenery, bearing evident marks of decay, particularly in the churches, whose steeples and tile roofs have a dilapidated look. The site of the city does not appear to have been well chosen, it having apparently been selected entirely for the convenience of commerce, and the communication that the outlet of the lake affords for the batteaux that transport the produce from the shores of the Laguna de Bay to the city.

There are many arms or branches to this stream, which have been converted into canals : and almost any part of Manilla may now be reached in a banca.

The anchorage considered safest for large ships is nearly three miles from the shore, but smaller vessels may lie much nearer, and even enter the canal ; a facility of which a number of these take advantage, to accomplish any repairs they may have occasion to make.

The canal, however, is generally filled with coasting vessels, batteaux from the lake, and lighters for the discharge of the

vessels lying in the roads. The bay of Manilla is safe, except during the change of the monsoons, when it is subject to the typhoons of the China seas, within whose range it lies. These blow at times with much force, and cause great damage. Foreign vessels have, however, kept this anchorage, and rode out these storms in safety; but native as well as Spanish vessels seek at these times the port of Cavite, about three leagues to the south-west, at the entrance of the bay, which is perfectly secure. Here the government dockyard is situated, and this harbour is consequently the resort of the few gunboats and galleys.

The suburbs, or Binondo quarter, contain more inhabitants than the city itself, and is the commercial town. They have all the stir and life incident to a large population actively engaged in trade, and in this respect the contrast with the city proper is great.

The city of Manilla is built in the form of a large segment of a circle, having the chord of the segment on the river: the whole is strongly fortified with walls and ditches. The houses are substantially built after the fashion of the mother country. Within the walls are the governor's palace, custom-house, treasury, admiralty, several churches, convents, and charitable institutions, a university, and the barracks for the troops; it also contains some public squares, on one of which is a bronze statue of Charles IV.

The city is properly deemed the court residence of these islands; and all those attached to the government, or who wish to be considered as of the higher circle, reside here; but foreigners are not permitted to do so. The houses in the city are generally of stone, plastered, and white or yellow washed on the outside. They are only two stories high, and in consequence cover a large space, being built around a patio or court-yard.

The ground-floors are occupied as store-houses, stables, and for porters' lodges. The second story is devoted to the dining-halls and sleeping apartments, kitchens, bath-rooms, &c. The bed-rooms have the windows down to the floor, opening on wide balconies, with blinds or shutters. These blinds are constructed with sliding frames, having small squares of two inches filled in with a thin semi-transparent shell, a species of *Placuna*; the fronts of some of the houses have a large number of these lights, where the females of the family may enjoy themselves unperceived.

On entering the canal, we very soon found ourselves among a motley and strange population. On landing, the attention is drawn to the vast number of small stalls and shops with which the streets are lined on each side, and to the crowds of people passing to and fro, all intent upon their several occupations. The artisans in Manilla are almost wholly Chinese; and all trades are local, so that in each quarter of the Binondo suburb the privilege of exclusive occupancy is claimed by some particular kinds of shops. In passing up the Escolta (which is the longest and main street in this district), the cabinet-makers, seen busily at work in their shops, are first met with; next to these come the tinkers and blacksmiths; then the shoemakers, clothiers, fishmongers, haberdashers, &c. These are flanked by out-door occupations; and in each quarter are numerous

cooks, frying cakes, stewing, &c., in movable kitchens ; while here and there are to be seen betel-nut sellers moving about, either to obtain customers, or taking a stand in some great thoroughfare. The moving throng, composed of carriers, waiters, messengers, &c., pass quietly and without any noise : they are generally seen with the Chinese umbrella, painted of many colours, screening themselves from the sun. The whole population wear slippers, and move along with a slipshod gait.

The Chinese are apparently far more numerous than the Malays, and the two races differ as much in character as in appearance : one is all activity, while the other is disposed to avoid all exertion. They preserve their distinctive character throughout, mixing very little with each other, and are removed as far as possible in their civilities : the former, from their industry and perseverance, have almost monopolised all the lucrative employments among the lower orders, excepting the selling of fish and betel-nut, and articles manufactured in the provinces.

We were kindly received by Mr. Moore, who at once made us feel at home. The change of feeling in a transfer from shipboard in a hot climate, after a long cruise, to spacious and airy apartments, surrounded by every luxury that kind attentions can give, can be scarcely imagined by those who have not experienced it.

The city government of Manilla was established on the 24th of June, 1571, and the title under which it is designated is, "The celebrated and for ever royal city of Manilla." In 1595, the charter was confirmed by royal authority ; and all the prerogatives possessed by other cities in the kingdom were conferred upon it in 1638. The members of the city council, by authority of the king, were constituted a council of advisement with the governor and captain-general. The city magistrates were also placed in rank next to the judges ; and in 1686 the jurisdiction of the city was extended over a radius of five leagues. In 1818, the number of the council were increased and ordered to assume the title of "excellency." Manilla has been one of the most constantly loyal cities of the Spanish kingdom, and is, in consequence, considered to merit these additional royal favours to its inhabitants.

In 1834, the Royal Tribunal of Commerce was instituted, to supersede the old consulate, which had been established since 1772. The Royal Tribunal of Commerce acts under the new commercial code, and possesses the same privileges of arbitration as the old consulate. It consists of a prior, two consuls, and four deputies elected by the profession. The three first exercise consular jurisdiction, the other four superintend the encouragement of commerce. The "Junta de Comercio" (chamber of commerce) was formed in 1836. This junta consists of the Tribunal of Commerce, with four merchants, who are selected by the government, two of whom are removed annually. The prior of the Tribunal presides at the Junta, whose meetings are required to be held twice a month, or oftener if necessary, and upon days in which the tribunal is not in session. The two courts being under the same influences, and having the same officers, little benefit is to be derived from their

double action, and great complaints are made of the manner in which business is conducted in them.

Of all her foreign possessions, the Philippines have cost Spain the least blood and labour. The honour of their discovery belongs to Magelhaens, whose name is associated with the straits at the southern extremity of the American continent, but which has no memorial in these islands. Now that the glory which he gained by being the first to penetrate from the Atlantic to the Pacific has been in some measure obliterated by the disuse of those straits by navigators, it would seem due to his memory that some spot among these islands should be set apart to commemorate the name of him who made them known to Europe. This would be but common justice to the discoverer of a region which has been a source of so much honour and profit to the Spanish nation, who opened the vast expanse of the Pacific to the fleets of Europe, and who died fighting to secure the benefits of his enterprise to his king and country.

Magelhaens was killed at the island of Matan, on the 26th of April, 1521; and Duarte, the second in command, who succeeded him, imprudently accepting an invitation from the chief of Febri to a feast, was, with twenty companions, massacred. Of all the Spaniards present only one escaped. After these and various other misfortunes, only one vessel of the squadron, the *Victoria*, returned to Spain. Don Juan Sebastian del Cano, her commander, was complimented by his sovereign by a grant for his arms of a globe, with the proud inscription, commemorative of his being the first circumnavigator,

“PRIMUS ME CIRCUMCEDIT.”

Two years afterwards, a second expedition was fitted out, under the command of Loaisa, who died after they had passed through the Straits of Magelhaens, when they had been a year on their voyage. The command then fell upon Sebastian, who died in four days after his predecessor. Salayar succeeded to the command, and reached the Ladrone Islands, but shortly after leaving there he died also. They came in sight of Mindanao, but contrary winds obliged them to go to the Moluccas. When they arrived at the Portuguese settlements, contentions and jealousies arose, and finally all the expedition was dispersed, and the fate of all but one of the vessels has become doubtful. None but the small tender returned, which, after encountering great difficulties, reached New Spain.

The third expedition was fitted out by Cortes, then viceroy of Mexico, and the command of it given to Sarvedra. This sailed from the port of Silguattanjo, on the 31st of October, 1528, and stopped at the Ladrone Islands, of which it took possession for the crown of Spain. It afterwards went to Mindanao, and then pursued its voyage to Timor, where part of the expedition of Loaisa was found remaining. From Timor they made two attempts to return to New Spain, both of which failed. The climate soon brought on disease,

which carried off a great number, and among them Sarvedra. Thus the whole expedition was broken up, and the survivors found their way to the Portuguese settlements.

The fourth expedition was sent from New Spain, when under the government of Don Antonio de Mendoza, for the purpose of establishing a trade with the new islands, and it received orders not to visit the Moluccas. This expedition sailed in 1542, under the command of Villalobos. It reached the Philippine Islands without accident, and Villalobos gave them that name after Philip II., then prince of Asturias. Notwithstanding his positive instructions to the contrary, he was obliged to visit the Moluccas, and met the same treatment from the Portuguese that had been given to all whom they believed had any intention to interfere in their spice trade. The squadron touched at Amboina, where Villalobos died, an event which caused the breaking up of the expedition; and the few Spaniards that remained embarked in the Portuguese vessels to return home.

The fifth and last expedition was ordered by Philip II. to be sent from Mexico, when under the government of Don Luis de Velasco, for the final conquest and settlement of the Philippines. With this expedition was sent Andres Urdaneta, a friar, whose reputation stood very high as a cosmographer: he had belonged to the ill-fated expedition of Loaisa. This was the largest that had yet been fitted out for this purpose, numbering five vessels and about four hundred men. The command of it was intrusted to Segaspi, under whom it sailed from the port of Natividad, on the 21st of November, 1564, and upon whom was conferred the title of governor and adelantado of the conquered lands, with the fullest powers. On the 13th of February, 1565, he arrived at the island of Tandaya, one of the Philippines: from thence he went to Leyte; there he obtained the son of a powerful chief as a guide, through whom he established peace with several of the native rulers, who thereafter aided the expedition with all the means in their power. At Bohol they built the first church. There he met and made peace with a chief of Luzon, with whom he went to that island.

He now (April, 1565) took possession of all the island in the name of the crown of Spain, and became their first governor. In this conquest, motives different from those which governed them on the American continent, seemed to have influenced the Spaniards. Instead of carrying on a cruel war against the natives, they here pursued the policy of encouraging and fostering their industry. Whether they felt that this policy was necessary for the success of their undertaking, or were influenced by the religious fathers who were with them, is uncertain; but their measures seem to have been dictated by a desire to promote peace and secure the welfare of the inhabitants. There may be another cause for this course of action, namely, the absence of the precious metals, which held out no inducement to those thirsting for inordinate gain. This may have had its weight in exempting the expedition in its outfit from the presence of those avaricious spirits which had accompanied other Spanish expeditions, and been the means of marking their progress

with excessive tyranny, bloodshed, and violence. It is evident to one who visits the Philippines that some other power besides the sword has been at work in them; the natives are amalgamated with the Spaniards, and all seemed disposed to cultivate the land and foster civilisation. None of the feeling that grows out of conquest is to be observed in these islands; the two races are identified now in habits, manners, and religion, and their interests are so closely allied that they feel their mutual dependence upon each other.

The establishment of the new constitution in Spain in the year 1825, has had a wonderful effect upon these colonies, whose resources have within the last ten years been developed, and improvements pushed forward with a rapid step. Greater knowledge and more liberal views in the rulers are alone wanting to cause a still more rapid advance in the career of prosperity.

As our visit was to Luzon, we naturally obtained more personal information respecting it than the other islands. We learned that the northern peninsula\* was composed of granite and recent volcanic rocks, together with secondary and tertiary deposits, while the southern peninsula is almost wholly volcanic. The northern contains many valuable mines of gold, lead, copper, and iron, besides coal.



NATIVE OF LUZON.

So far as our information and observations went, the whole of the Philippine Islands are of similar geological formation. In some of the islands the volcanic rock prevails, while in others coal and metalliferous deposits predominate. On some of them the coalbeds form part of the cliffs along the shore; on others, copper is found in a chlorite and talcose slate. The latter is more particularly the case with Luzon, and the same formation extends to Mindoro. Much iron occurs on the mountains. Thus, among the Tagala natives, who are yet unsubdued by the Spaniards, and who inhabit these mountains, it is found by them of so pure a quality that it is manufactured into swords and cleavers. These are, occasionally, obtained by the Spaniards in their excursions into the interior against these bands.

The country around Manilla is composed of tufa of a light gray colour, which being soft and easily worked, is employed as the common building material in the city. It contains, sometimes, scoria and pumice, in pieces of various sizes, besides, occasionally, impressions of plants, with petrified woods. These are confined to recent species, and include palms, &c.

\* It is called so in consequence of the island being nearly divided in the parallel of 14° N. by two bays.

This tufa forms one of the remarkable features of the volcanoes of the Philippine Islands, showing a strong contrast between them and those of the Pacific isles, which have ejected little else than lava and scoria.

Few portions of the globe seem to be so much the seat of internal fires, or to exhibit the effects of volcanic action so strongly as the Philippines. During our visit, it was not known that any of the volcanoes were in action; but many of them were smoking, particularly that in the district of Albay, called Isaroc. Its latest eruption was in the year 1839; but this did little damage compared with that of 1814, which covered several villages, and the country for a great distance around, with ashes. This mountain is situated to the south-east of Manilla one hundred and fifty miles, and is said to be a perfect cone, with a crater at its apex.

It does not appear that the islands are much affected by earthquakes, although some have occasionally occurred that have done damage to the churches at Manilla.

The coal which we have spoken of is deemed of value; it has a strong resemblance to the bituminous coal of our own country, possesses a bright lustre, and appears very free from all woody texture when fractured. It is found associated with sandstone, which contains many fossils. Lead and copper are reported as being very abundant; gypsum and limestone occur in some districts. From this, it will be seen that these islands have everything in the mineral way to constitute them desirable possessions.

With such mineral resources, and a soil capable of producing the most varied vegetation of the tropics, a liberal policy is all that the country lacks. The products of the Philippine Islands consist of sugar, coffee, hemp, indigo, rice, tortoise-shell, hides, ebony, saffron-wood, sulphur, cotton, cordage, silk, pepper, cocoa, wax, and many other articles. In their agricultural operations the people are industrious, although much labour is lost by the use of defective implements. The plough, of very simple construction, has been adopted from the Chinese; it has no coulter, the share is flat, and being turned partly to one side, answers in a certain degree the purpose of a mould-board. This rude implement is sufficient for the rich soils, where the tillage depends chiefly upon the harrow, in constructing which a thorny species of bamboo is used. The harrow is formed of five or six pieces of this material, on which the thorns are left, firmly fastened together. It answers its purpose well, and is seldom out of order. A wrought-iron harrow, that was introduced by the Jesuits, is used for clearing the ground more effectually, and more particularly for the purpose of extirpating a troublesome grass, that is known by the name of cogon (a species of *Andropogon*), of which it is very difficult to rid the fields. The bolo or long-knife, a basket and hoe, complete the list of implements, and answer all the purposes of our spades, &c.

The buffalo was used until within a few years exclusively in their agricultural operations, and they have lately taken to the use of the ox; but horses are never used. The buffalo, from the slowness of his motions, and his exceeding restlessness under the heat of the



climate, is ill adapted to agricultural labour ; but the natives are very partial to them, notwithstanding they occasion them much labour and trouble in bathing them during the great heat. This is absolutely necessary, or the animal becomes so fretful as to be unfit for use. If it were not for this, the buffalo would, notwithstanding his slow pace, be most effective in agricultural operations ; he requires little food, and that of the coarsest kind ; his strength surpasses that of the stoutest ox, and he is admirably adapted for the rice or paddy fields. They are very docile when used by the natives, and even children can manage them ; but it is said they have a great antipathy to the whites, and all strangers. The usual mode of guiding them is by a small cord attached to the cartilage of the nose. The yoke rests on the neck before the shoulders, and is of simple construction. To this is attached whatever it may be necessary to draw, either by traces, shafts, or other fastenings. Frequently this animal may be seen with large bundles of bamboo lashed to them on each side. Buffaloes are to be met with on the lake with no more than their noses and eyes out of the water, and are not visible until they are approached within a few feet, when they cause alarm to the passengers by raising their large forms close to the boat. It is said that they resort to the lake to feed on a favourite grass that grows on its bottom in shallow water, and which they dive for. Their flesh is not eaten, except that of the young ones, for it is tough and tasteless. The milk is nutritious, and of a character between that of the goat and cow.

Rice is, perhaps, of their agricultural products, the article upon which the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands most depend for food and profit ; of this they have several different varieties, which the natives distinguish by their size and the shape of the grain : the birnambang, lamuyo, malagequit, bontot-cabay, dumali, quinanda, bolohan, and tangi. The three first are aquatic ; the five latter are upland varieties. They each have their peculiar uses. The dumali is the early variety ; it ripens in three months from planting, from which circumstance it derives its name ; it is raised exclusively on the uplands. Although much esteemed, it is not extensively cultivated, as the birds and insects destroy a large part of the crop.

The malagequit is very much prized, and used for making sweet and fancy dishes ; it becomes exceedingly glutinous, for which reason it is used in making whitewash, which it is said to cause to become of a brilliant white, and to withstand the weather. This variety is not, however, believed to be wholesome. There is also a variety of this last species which is used as food for horses, and supposed to be a remedy and preventive against worms.

The rice grounds or fields are laid out in squares, and surrounded by embankments, to retain the water of the rains or streams. After the rains have fallen in sufficient quantities to saturate the ground, a seed-bed is generally planted in one corner of the field, in which the rice is sown broadcast about the month of June. The heavy rains take place in August, when the fields are ploughed, and are soon filled with water. The young plants are about this time taken from the seed-bed, their tops and roots trimmed, and then

planted in the field by making holes in the ground with the fingers and placing four or five sprouts in each of them ; in this tedious labour the poor women are employed, whilst the males are lounging in their houses or in the shade of the trees.

The harvest for the aquatic rice begins in December. It is reaped with small sickles, peculiar to the country, called *yatap* ; to the back of these a small stick is fastened, by which they are held, and the stalk is forced upon it and cut. The spikes of rice are cut with this implement, one by one. In this operation, men, women, and children all take part.

The upland rice requires much more care and labour in its cultivation. The land must be ploughed three or four times, and all the turf and lumps well broken up by the harrow.

During its growth it requires to be weeded two or three times, to keep the weeds from choking the crop. The seed is sown broadcast in May. This kind of rice is harvested in November, and to collect the crop is still more tedious than in the other case, for it is always gathered earlier, and never reaped, in consequence of the grain not adhering to the ear. If it were gathered in any other way, the loss by transportation on the backs of buffaloes and horses, without any covering to the sheaf, would be so great as to dissipate a great portion of the crop.

It appears almost incredible that any people can remain in ignorance of a way of preventing so extravagant and wasteful a mode of harvesting. The government has been requested to prohibit it on account of the great expense it gives rise to ; but whether any steps have ever been taken in the matter, I did not learn. It is said that not unfrequently a third part of the crop is lost, in consequence of the scarcity of labourers ; while those who are disengaged will refuse to work, unless they receive one-third, and even one-half of the crop, to be delivered free of expense at their houses. This the planters are often obliged to give, or lose the whole crop. Nay, unless the harvest is a good one, reapers are very unwilling to engage to take it even on these terms, and the entire crop is lost. The labourers, during the time of harvest, are supported by the planter, who is during that time exposed to great vexation, if not losses. The reapers are for the most part composed of the idle and vicious part of the population, who go abroad over the country to engage themselves in this employment, which affords a livelihood to the poorer classes ; for the different periods at which the varieties of rice are planted and harvested, gives them work during a large portion of the year.

After the rice is harvested, there are different modes of treating it. Some of the proprietors take it home, where it is thrown into heaps, and left until it is desirable to separate it from the straw, when it is trodden out by men and women with their bare feet. For this operation, they usually receive another fifth of the rice.

Others stack it in a wet and green state, which subjects it to heat, from which cause the grain contracts a dark colour, and an unpleasant taste and smell. The natives, however, impute these defects to the wetness of the season.

The crop of both the low and upland rice is usually from thirty to fifty for one : this is on old land ; but on that which is newly cleared, or which has never been cultivated, the yield is far beyond this. In some soils of the latter description, it is said that for a chupa (seven cubic inches) planted, the yield has been a caban. The former is the two-hundred-and-eighth part of the latter. This is not the only advantage gained in planting rich lands, but the saving of labour is equally great ; for all that is required is to make a hole with the fingers, and place three or four grains in it. The upland rice requires but little water, and is never irrigated.

The cultivator in the Philippine Islands is always enabled to secure plenty of manure ; for vegetation is so luxuriant that by pulling the weeds and laying them with earth, a good stock is quickly obtained with which to cover his fields. Thus, although the growth is so rank as to cause him labour, yet in this hot climate its decay is equally rapid, which tends to make his labours more successful.

Among the important productions of these islands, I have mentioned hemp, although the article called Manila hemp must not be understood to be derived from the plant which produces the common hemp (*Cannabis*), being obtained from a species of plantain (*Musa textilis*) called in the Philippines "abaca." This is a native of these islands, and was formerly believed to be found only on Mindanao ; but this is not the case, for it is cultivated on the south part of Luzon, and all the islands south of it. It grows on high ground, in rich soil, and is propagated by seeds. It resembles the other plants of the tribe of plantains, but its fruit is much smaller, although edible. The fibre is derived from the stem, and the plant attains the height of fifteen or twenty feet. The usual mode of preparing the hemp is to cut off the stem near the ground, before the time or just when the fruit is ripe. The stem is then eight or ten feet long below the leaves, where it is again cut. The outer coating of the herbaceous stem is then stripped off, until the fibres or cellular parts are seen, when it undergoes the process of rotting, and after being well dried in houses and sheds, is prepared for market by assorting it, a task which is performed by the women and children. That which is intended for cloth is soaked for an hour or two in weak lime-water prepared from sea-shells, again dried, and put up in bundles. From all the districts in which it grows, it is sent to Manila, which is the only port whence it can legally be exported. It arrives in large bundles, and is packed there, by means of a screw-press, in compact bales for shipping, secured by rattan, each weighing two piculs.

The best Manila hemp ought to be white, dry, and of a long and fine fibre. This is known at Manila by the name of *lupis* ; the second quality they call *bandala*.

The exportation has much increased within the last few years, in consequence of the demand for it in the United States ; and the whole crop is now monopolised by the two American houses of Manila, who buy all of good quality that comes to market. The price they pay is from four to five dollars the picul. The entire

quantity raised in 1840 was eighty-three thousand seven hundred and ninety piculs ; in 1841, eighty-seven thousand.

The quantity exported to the United States in 1840 was sixty-eight thousand two hundred and eighty piculs, and in 1841, only sixty-two thousand seven hundred piculs ; its value in Manilla is about three hundred thousand dollars. Twenty thousand piculs go to Europe. There are no duties on its exportation.

That which is brought to the United States is principally manufactured in or near Boston, and is the cordage known as "white rope." The cordage manufactured at Manilla is, however, very superior to the rope made with us, although the hemp is of the inferior kind. A large quantity is also manufactured into mats.

In the opinion of our botanist, it is not probable that the plant could be introduced with success into our country, for in the Philippines it is not found north of latitude 14° N.

The coffee-plant is well adapted to these islands. A few plants were introduced into the gardens of Manilla, about fifty years ago, since which time it has been spread all over the island, as is supposed by the civet-cats, which, after swallowing the seeds, carry them to a distance before they are voided.

The coffee of commerce is obtained here from the wild plant, and is of an excellent quality. Upwards of three thousand five hundred piculs are now exported, of which one-sixth goes to the United States.

The sugar-cane thrives well. It is planted after the French fashion, by sticking the piece diagonally into the ground. Some, finding the cane has suffered in times of drought, have adopted other modes. It comes to perfection in a year, and they seldom have two crops from the same piece of land, unless the season is very favourable.

There are many kinds of cane cultivated, but that grown in the valley of Pampanga is thought to be the best. It is a small red variety, from four to five feet high, and not thicker than the thumb. The manufacture of the sugar is rudely conducted ; and the whole business, I was told, was in the hands of a few capitalists, who, by making advances, secure the whole crop from those who are employed to bring it to market. It is generally brought in moulds, of the usual conical shape, called pilones, which are delivered to the purchaser from November to June, and contain each about one hundred and fifty pounds. On their receipt, they are placed in large storehouses, where the familiar operation of claying is performed. The estimate for the quantity of sugar from these pilones, after this process, is about one hundred pounds ; it depends upon the care taken in the process.

Of cotton they raise a considerable quantity, which is of a fine quality, and principally of the yellow nankeen. In the province of Ylocos it is cultivated most extensively. The mode of cleaning it of its seed is very rude, by means of a hand-mill, and the expense of cleaning a picul (one hundred and forty pounds) is from five to seven dollars. There have, as far as I have understood, been no endeavours to introduce any cotton-gins from our country.

It will be merely necessary to give the prices at which labourers are paid, to show how low the compensation is, in comparison with those in our own country. In the vicinity of Manilla, twelve and a half cents per day is the usual wages; this in the provinces falls to six and nine cents. A man with two buffaloes is paid about thirty cents. The amount of labour performed by the latter in a day would be the ploughing of a soane, about two-tenths of an acre. The most profitable way of employing labourers is by the task, when, it is said, the natives work well, and are industrious.

The manner in which the sugar and other produce is brought to market at Manilla is peculiar, and deserves to be mentioned. In some of the villages, the chief men unite to build a vessel, generally a pirogue, in which they embark their produce, under the conduct of a few persons, who go to navigate it, and dispose of the cargo. In due time they make their voyage, and when the accounts are settled, the returns are distributed to each, according to his share. Festivities are then held, the saints thanked for their kindness, and blessings invoked for another year. After this is over, the vessel is taken carefully to pieces, and distributed among the owners, to be preserved for the next season.

The profits in the crops, according to estimates, vary from sixty to one hundred per cent.; but it was thought, as a general average, that this was, notwithstanding the great productiveness of the soil, far beyond the usual profits accruing from agricultural operations. In some provinces this estimate would hold good, and probably be exceeded.

Indigo would probably be a lucrative crop, for that raised here is said to be of a quality equal to the best, and the crop is not subject to so many uncertainties as in India; the capital and attention required in vats, &c., prevent it from being raised in any quantities. Among the productions, the bamboo and rattan ought to claim a particular notice from their great utility; they enter into almost everything. Of the former their houses are built, including frames, floors, sides, and roof; fences are made of the same material, as well as every article of general household use, including baskets for oil and water. The rattan is a general substitute for ropes of all descriptions, and the two combined are used in constructing rafts for crossing ferries.

The crops frequently suffer from the ravages of the locusts, which sweep all before them. Fortunately for the poorer classes, their attacks take place after the rice has been harvested; but the cane is sometimes entirely cut off. The authorities of Manilla, in the vain hope of stopping their devastations, employ persons to gather them and throw them into the sea. I understood on one occasion they had spent eighty thousand dollars in this way, but all to little purpose. It is said that the crops rarely suffer from droughts, but on the contrary, the rains are thought to fall too often, and to flood the rice-fields; these, however, yield a novel crop, and are very advantageous to the poor, viz.: a great quantity of fish, which are called dalag, and are a species of Blunnius; they are so plentiful that they are caught with baskets; these fish weigh from a half to two pounds

and some are said to be eighteen inches long : but this is not all ; they are said, after a deep inundation, to be found even in the vaults of churches.

The Philippines are divided into thirty-one provinces, sixteen of which are on the island of Luzon, and the remainder comprise the other islands of the group and the Ladrões.

The population of the whole group is above three millions, including all tribes of natives, mestizoes, and whites. The latter-named class are but few in number, not exceeding three thousand. The mestizoes were supposed to be about fifteen or twenty thousand ; they are distinguished as Spanish and Indian mestizoes. The Chinese have of late years increased to a large number, and it is said that there are forty thousand of them in and around Manilla alone. One-half of the whole population belongs to Luzon. The island next to it in the number of inhabitants is Panay, which contains about three hundred and thirty thousand. Then come Zebu, Mindanao, Leyte, Samar, and Negros, varying from the above numbers down to fifty thousand. The population is increasing, and it is thought that it doubles itself in seventy years. This rate of increase appears probable, from a comparison of the present population with the estimate made at the beginning of the present century, which shows a growth in the forty years of about one million four hundred thousand.

The native population is composed of a number of distinct tribes, the principal of which in Luzon are Pangarihan, Ylocos, Cagayan, Tagala, and Pampangan.

The Irogoes, who dwell in the mountains, are the only natives who have not been subjected by the Spaniards. The other tribes have become identified with their rulers in religion, and it is thought that by this circumstance alone has Spain been able to maintain the ascendancy with so small a number, over such a numerous, intelligent, and energetic race as they are represented to be. This is, however, more easily accounted for, from the Spaniards fostering and keeping alive the jealousy and hatred that existed at the time of the discovery between the different tribes.

It seems almost incredible that Spain should have so long persisted in the policy of allowing no more than one galloon to pass annually between her colonies, and equally so that the nations of Europe should have been so long deceived in regard to the riches and wealth that Spain was monopolising in the Philippines. The capture of Manilla, in 1762, by the English, first gave a clear idea of the value of this remote and little-known appendage of the empire.

The Philippines, considered in their capacity for commerce, are certainly among the most favoured portions of the globe, and there is but one circumstance that tends in the least degree to lessen their apparent advantage ; this is the prevalence of typhoons in the China seas, which are occasionally felt with force to the north of latitude 10° N. South of that parallel, they have never been known to prevail, and seldom so far ; but from their unfailling occurrence yearly in some part of the China seas, they are looked for with more or less dread, and cause each season a temporary interruption in all the trade that passes along the coast of these islands.

Although the Spaniards, as far as is known abroad, live in peace and quiet, this is far from being the case ; for rebellion and revolts among the troops and tribes are not unfrequent in the provinces. During the time of our visit one of these took place, but it was impossible to learn anything concerning it that could be relied upon, for all conversation respecting such occurrences is interdicted by the government. The difficulty to which I refer was said to have originated from the preaching of a fanatic priest, who inflamed them to such a degree that they overthrew the troops and became temporarily masters of the country. Prompt measures were immediately taken, and orders issued to give the rebels no quarter ; the regiments most hostile to those engaged in the revolt were ordered to the spot ; they spared no one ; the priest and his companions were taken, put to death, and, according to report, in a manner so cruel as to be a disgrace to the records of the nineteenth century. Although I should hope the accounts I heard of these transactions were incorrect, yet the detestation these acts were held in, would give some colour to the statements.

The few gazettes that are published at Manilla are entirely under the control of the government : and a resident of that city must make up his mind to remain in ignorance of the things that are passing around him, or believe just what the authorities will allow to be told, whether truth or falsehood. The government of the Philippines is emphatically an iron rule : how long it can continue so, is doubtful.

One of my first duties was to make an official call upon his excellency, Don Marcelino Oroa, who is the sixty-first governor of the Philippine Islands. According to the established etiquette, Mr. Moore, the vice-consul, announced our desire to do so, and requested to be informed of the time when we would be received. This was accordingly named, and at the appointed hour we proceeded to the palace in the city proper. On our arrival, we were announced and led up a flight of steps, ample and spacious, but by no means of such splendour as would indicate the residence of vice-royalty. The suite of rooms into which we were ushered were so dark that it was difficult to see. I made out, however, that they were panelled, and by no means richly furnished. His excellency entered from a side-door, and led us through two or three apartments into his private audience-room, an apartment not quite so dark as those we had come from : our being conducted to this, I was told afterwards, was to be considered an especial mark of respect to my country. His reception of us was friendly. The governor has much more the appearance of an Irishman than of a Spaniard, being tall, portly, of a florid complexion. He is apparently more than sixty years of age. He was dressed in a full suit of black, with a star on his breast.

The governor readily acceded to my request to be allowed to send a party into the interior for a few days—a permission which I almost despaired of receiving, for I knew that he had refused a like application some few months before. The refusal, however, I think was in part owing to the character of the applicants, and the doubt-

ful object they had in view. I impute the permission we received to the influence of our consul, together with Mr. Sturges, whose agreeable manners, conciliatory tone, and high standing with the authorities, will, I am satisfied, insure us at all times every reasonable advantage or facility.

The term of the governor in office is three years, and the present incumbent was installed in 1841. The office is held by the appointment of the ministry in Spain, and with it are connected perquisites that are shared, it is said, by those who confer them.

During our stay at Manilla, our time was occupied in seeing sights, shopping, riding, and amusing ourselves with gazing on the throng incessantly passing through the Escolta of the Binondo suburb, or more properly, the commercial town of Manilla.

Among the lions of the place, the great royal cigar manufactories claim especial notice, from their extent and the many persons employed. There are two of these establishments, one situated in the Binondo quarter, and the other on the great square of Prado; in the former, which was visited by us, there are two buildings of two stories high, besides several storehouses, enclosed by a wall, with two large gateways, at which sentinels are always posted. The principal workshop is in the second story, which is divided into six apartments, in which eight thousand females are employed. Throughout the whole extent, tables are arranged about sixteen inches high, ten feet long and three feet wide, at each of which fifteen women are seated, having small piles of tobacco before them. The tables are set crosswise from the wall, leaving a space in the middle of the room free. The labour of a female produces about two hundred cigars a day; and the working hours are from 6 A.M. to 6 P.M., with a recess of two hours, from eleven till one o'clock. The whole establishment is kept very neat and clean, and everything appears to be carried on in the most systematic and workmanlike manner. Among such numbers, it has been found necessary to institute a search on their leaving the establishment, to prevent embezzlement, and this is regularly made twice a day, without distinction of sex. It is a strange sight to witness the ingress and egress of these hordes of females; and probably the world cannot elsewhere exhibit so large a number of ugly women. Their ages vary from fifteen to forty-five. The sum paid them for wages is very trifling. The whole number of persons employed in the manufactories is about fifteen thousand; this includes the officers, clerks, overseers, &c.

As nearly as I could ascertain, the revenue derived from these establishments is half a million of dollars.

The natives of the Philippines are industrious. They manufacture an amount of goods sufficient to supply their own wants, particularly from Panay and Ylocos. These for the most part consist of cotton and silk, and a peculiar article called pina. The latter is manufactured from a species of Bromelia (pine-apple), and comes principally from the island of Panay. The finest kinds of pina are exceedingly beautiful, and surpass any other material in its evenness and beauty of texture. Its colour is yellowish, and the



embroidery is fully equal to the material. It is much sought after by all strangers, and considered as one of the curiosities of this group. Various reports have been stated of the mode of its manufacture, and among others that it was woven under water, which I found, upon inquiry, to be quite erroneous. The web of the pina is so fine that they are obliged to prevent all currents of air from passing through the rooms where it is manufactured, for which purpose there are gauze screens in the windows. After the article is brought to Manila, it is then embroidered by girls; this last operation adds greatly to its value.

This manufactory had work engaged for nine months or a year in advance. The fabric is extremely expensive, and none but the wealthy can afford it.

Time in Manila seems to hang heavily on the hands of some of its inhabitants; their amusements are few, and the climate ill adapted to exertion. The gentlemen of the higher classes pass their morning in the transaction of a little public business, lounging about and smoking. In the afternoon they sleep, and ride on the Prado; and in the evening, visit their friends, or attend a tertulia. The ladies are to be pitied; for they pass three-fourths of their time in dishabille, with their maids around them, sleeping, dressing, lolling, and combing their hair. In this way the whole morning is lounged away; they neither read, write, nor work. In dress they generally imitate the Europeans, except that they seldom wear stockings, and go with their arms bare. In the afternoon they ride on the Prado in state, and in the evening accompany their husbands. Chocolate is taken early in the morning, breakfast at eleven, and dinner and supper are included in one meal.

Mothers provide for the marriage of their daughters; and I was told that such a thing as a gentleman proposing to any one but the mother, or a young lady engaging herself, is unknown and unheard of. The negotiation is all carried forward by the mother, and the daughter is given to any suitor she may deem a suitable match. The young ladies are said to be equally disinclined to a choice themselves, and if proposals were made to them, the suitor would be at once referred to the mother. Among the lower orders it is no uncommon thing for the parties to be living without the ceremony of marriage until they have a family; and no odium whatever is attached to such a connection. They are looked upon as man and wife, though they do not live together; and they rarely fail to solemnise their union when they have accumulated sufficient property to procure the requisite articles for housekeeping.

Our afternoons were spent in drives on the Prado, where all the fashion and rank of Manila are to be met, and where it is exceedingly agreeable to partake of the fresh and pure air after a heated day in the city. The extreme end of the Prado lies along the shore of the bay of Manila, having the roadstead and ships on one side, and the city proper with its fortifications and moats on the other. This drive usually lasts for an hour, and all sorts of vehicles are shown off, from the governor's coach and six, surrounded by

lancers, to the sorry chaise and limping nag. The carriage most used is a four-wheeled *biloché*, with a gig top, quite low, and drawn by two horses, on one of which is a postillion; these vehicles are extremely comfortable for two persons. The horses are small, but spirited, and are said to be able to undergo great fatigue, although their appearance does not promise it. This drive is enlivened by the music of the different regiments, who are at this time to be seen manoeuvring on the Prado. The soldiers have a very neat and clean appearance; great attention is paid to them, and the whole are well appointed. The force stationed in Manila is six thousand, and the army in the Philippines amounts to twenty thousand men. The officers are all Spaniards, generally the relations and friends of those in the administration of the government. The pay of the soldiers is four dollars a month, and a ration, which is equal to six cents a day. As troops, I was told they acquitted themselves well. The Prado is laid out in many avenues, leading in various directions to the suburbs, and these are planted with wild almond trees, which afford a pleasant shade. It is well kept and creditable to the city.

In passing the crowds of carriages very little display of female beauty is observed, and although well-dressed above, one cannot but revert to their wearing no stockings beneath.

On the Prado is a small theatre, but so inferior that the building scarcely deserves the name; the acting was equally bad. This amusement meets with little encouragement in Manila, and I was told, was discountenanced by the governor.

I had the pleasure during our stay of attending a *tertulia* in the city. The company was not a large one, comprising some thirty or forty ladies and about sixty gentlemen. Dancing was introduced at an early hour, and continued till a few minutes before eleven o'clock, at which time the gates of the city are always shut. It was amusing to see the sudden breaking up of the party, most of the guests residing out of the city. The calling for carriages, shawls, hats, &c., produced for a few minutes great confusion, every one being desirous of getting off at the earliest moment possible, for fear of being too late. This regulation, by which the gates are closed at so early an hour, does not appear necessary, and only serves to interrupt the communication between the foreign and Spanish society, as the former is obliged, as before observed, to live outside of the city proper. This want of free intercourse is to be regretted, as it prevents that kind of friendship by which many of their jealousies and prejudices might be removed.

The society of this *tertulia* was easy, and, so far as the enjoyment of dancing went, pleasant; but there was no conversation. The refreshments consisted of a few dulces, lemonade, and strong drinks, in an ante-room. The house appeared very spacious and well adapted for entertainments, but only one of the rooms was well lighted. From the novelty of the scene, and the attentions of the gentleman of the house, we passed a pleasant evening.

The natives and mestizoes attracted much of my attention at

**Manilla.** Their dress is peculiar: over a pair of striped trousers of various colours, the men usually wear a fine grass-cloth shirt, a large straw hat, and around the head or neck a many-coloured silk handkerchief. They often wear slippers as well as shoes. The Chinese dress, as they have done for centuries, in loose white shirts and trousers. One peculiarity of the common men is their passion for cock-fighting: and they carry these fowls wherever they go, after a peculiar fashion under their arm.



MANILLA COSTUMES.

Cock-fighting is licensed by the government, and great care is taken in the breeding of game fowls, which are very large and heavy birds. They are armed with a curved double-edged gaff. The exhibitions are usually crowded with half-breeds or mestizoes, who are generally more addicted to gambling than either the higher or lower classes of Spaniards. It would not be an unapt designation to call the middling class cock-fighters, for their whole lives seem to be taken up with the breeding and fighting of these birds. On the exit from a cock-pit, I was much amused with the mode of giving the return check, which was done by a stamp on the naked arm, and precludes the possibility of its transfer to another person. The dress of the lower order of females is somewhat civilised, yet it bore so strong a resemblance to that of the Polynesians as to recall the latter to our recollection. A long piece of coloured cotton is wound round the body, like the pareu, and tucked in at the side: this covers the nether limbs; and a jacket fitting close to the body is worn, without a shirt. In some, this jacket is ornamented with work around the neck; it has no collar, and in many cases no sleeves, and over this a richly embroidered cape. The feet are covered with slippers, with wooden soles, which are kept on by the little toe, only four toes entering the slipper, and the little one being on the outside. The effect of both costumes is picturesque.

The market is a never-failing place of amusement to a foreigner, for there a crowd of the common people is always to be seen, and their mode of conducting business may be observed. The canals here afford great facilities for bringing vegetables and produce to market in a fresh state. The vegetables are chiefly brought from the shores of the Laguna de Bay, through the river Pasig. The mes-

appeared inferior, and, as in all Spanish places, the art of butchering is not understood. The poultry, however, surpasses that of any other place I have seen, particularly in ducks, the breeding of which is pursued to a great extent. Establishments for breeding these birds are here carried on in a systematic manner, and are a great curiosity. They consist of many small enclosures, each about twenty feet by forty or fifty, made of bamboo, which are placed on the bank of the river, and partly covered with water. In one corner of the enclosure is a small house, where the eggs are hatched by artificial heat, produced by rice-chaff in a state of fermentation. It is not uncommon to see six or eight hundred ducklings all of the same age. There are several hundreds of these enclosures, and the number of ducks of all ages may be computed at millions. The manner in which they are schooled to take exercise, and to go in and out of the water, and to return to their house, almost exceeds belief. The keepers or tenders are of the Tagala tribe, who live near the enclosures, and have them at all times under their eye. The old birds are not suffered to approach the young, and all of one age are kept together. They are fed upon rice and a small species of shell-fish that is found in the river, and is peculiar to it. From the extent of these establishments we inferred that ducks were the favourite article of food at Manilla, and the consumption of them must be immense. The markets are well supplied with chickens, pigeons, young partridges, which are brought in alive, and turkeys. Among strange articles that we saw for sale, were cakes of coagulated blood. The markets are well stocked with a variety of fish, taken both in Laguna and the bay of Manilla, affording a supply of both the fresh and salt-water species, and many smaller kinds that are dried and smoked. Vegetables are in great plenty, and consist of pumpkins, lettuce, onions, radishes, very long squashes, &c.; of fruits, they have melons, chicos, durians, marbolas, and oranges.

The country around Manilla, though no more than an extended plain for some miles, is one of great interest and beauty, and affords many agreeable rides on the roads to Santa Anna and Maraquino. Most of the country-seats are situated on the river Pasig; they may indeed be called palaces from their extent and appearance. They are built upon a grand scale, and after the Italian style, with terraces, supported by strong abutments, decked with vases of plants. The grounds are ornamented with the luxuriant, lofty, and graceful trees of the tropics; these are tolerably well kept. Here and there fine large stone churches, with their towers and steeples, are to be seen, the whole giving the impression of a wealthy nobility and a happy and flourishing peasantry.

In one of our rides we made a visit to the Campo Santo or cemetery, about four miles from Manilla. It is small, but has many handsome trees about it; among them was an Agati, full of large white flowers, showing most conspicuously. The whole place is as unlike a depository of the dead as it well can be. Its form is circular, having a small chapel, in the form of a rotunda, directly opposite the gate, or entrance. The walls are about twenty feet high, with three tiers of niches, in which the bodies are enclosed with quicklime.

Here they are allowed to remain for three years, or until such time as the niches may be required for further use. Niches may be purchased, however, and permanently closed up; but in the whole cemetery there were but five thus secured. This would seem to indicate an indifference on the part of the living for their departed relatives or friends; at least such was my impression at the time. The centre of the enclosure is laid out as a flower-garden and shrubbery, and all the buildings are washed a deep buff colour, with white cornices; these colours, when contrasted with the green foliage, give an effect that is not displeasing. In the chapel are two tombs, the one for the bishop, and the other for the governor. The former, I believe, is occupied, and will continue to be so until another shall follow him; but the latter is empty, for since the erection of the cemetery, none of the governors have died. In the rear of the chapel is another small cemetery, called Los Angeles; and, further behind, the Osero. The former is similar to the one in front, but smaller, and appropriated exclusively to children; the latter is an open space, where the bones of all those who have been removed from the niches, after three years, are cast out, and now lie in a confused heap, with portions of flesh and hair adhering to them. No person is allowed to be received here for interment until the fees are first paid to the priest, however respectable the parties may be; and all those who pay the fees, and are of the true faith, can be interred. I was told of a corpse of a very respectable person being refused admittance, for the want of the priest's pass, to show that the claim had been satisfied, and the coffin stopped in the road until it was obtained. We ourselves witnessed a similar refusal. A servant entered with a dead child, borne on a tray, which he presented to the sacristan to have interred; the latter asked him for the pass, which not being produced, he was dismissed, nor was he suffered to leave his burden until this requisite could be procured from the priest, who lived opposite. The price of interment was three dollars, but whether this included the purchase of the niche, or its rent for three years only, I did not learn.

The government of the Philippines is in the hands of a governor-general, who has the titles of viceroy, commander-in-chief, sub-delegate, judge of the revenue from the post-office, commander of the troops, captain-general, and commander of the naval forces. His duties embrace everything that relates to the security and defence of the country. As advisers, he has a council called the Audiencia.

The islands are divided into provinces, each of which has a military officer with the title of governor, appointed by the governor-general. They act as chief magistrates, have jurisdiction over all disputes of minor importance, have the command of the troops in time of war, and are collectors of the royal revenues, for the security of which they give bonds, which must be approved of by the comptroller-general of the treasury. The province of Cavite is alone exempt from this rule, and the collection of tribute is there confided to a police magistrate.

Each province is again subdivided into pueblos, containing

greater or less number of inhabitants, each of which has again its ruler, called a *gobernadorcillo*, who has in like manner other officers under him to act as police magistrates. The number of the latter are very great, each of them having his appropriate duties. These consist in the supervision of the grain fields, cocoa-nut groves, betel-nut plantations, and in the preservation of the general order and peace of the town. So numerous are these petty officers, that there is scarcely a family of any consequence that has not a member who holds some kind of office under government. This policy, in case of disturbances, at once unites a large and influential body on the side of the government, that is maintained at little expense. The *gobernadorcillo* exercises the municipal authority, and is especially charged to aid the parish priest in everything appertaining to religious observances, &c.

As soon as we could procure the necessary passports, which were obligingly furnished by the governor to "Don Russel Sturges y quatro Anglo-Americanos," our party left Manilla for a short jaunt to the mountains.

On the 14th, the party left Manilla, and proceeded in carriages to Santa Anna, on the Pasig.

At Santa Anna they found their *bancas* waiting for them, and embarked. Here the scene was rendered animated by numerous boats of all descriptions, from the *parao* to the small canoe of a single log.

There is a large population that live wholly on the water; for the *padrones* of the *paraos* have usually their families with them, which, from the great variety of ages and sexes, give a very different and much more bustling appearance to the crowd of boats, than would be the case if they only contained those who are employed to navigate them. At times the *paraos* and *bancas*, of all sizes, together with the *saraboas* and *pativas* (duck establishments), become jumbled together, and create a confusion and noise such as is seldom met with in any other country.

The *pativas* are under the care of the original inhabitants, to whom exclusively the superintendence of the ducklings seems to be committed. The pens are made of bamboo, and are not over a foot high. The birds were all in admirable order, and made no attempt to escape over the low barrier. The mode of giving them exercise was by causing them to run round in a ring. In the course of their sail, it was estimated that hundreds of thousands of ducks of all ages were seen.

At five o'clock they reached the Laguna de Bay. The shores of the lake are shelving, and afford good situations for placing fish-weirs, which are here established on an extensive scale. These weirs are formed of slips of bamboo, and are to be seen running in every direction to the distance of two or three miles. They may be said to invest entirely the shores of the lake for several miles from its outlet, and without a pilot it would be difficult to find the way through them. At night, when heron and tern were seen roosting on the top of each slat, these weirs presented rather a curious spectacle. The Laguna de Bay is ten leagues in length by three in width.

After dark, the bancas separated ; one party to visit the mountain of Majaijai, the other the Volcano de Taal.

About noon they arrived at Majaijai. It is situated about one thousand feet above the Laguna de Bay, but the rise is so gradual that it was almost imperceptible. The country has everywhere the appearance of being densely peopled. They had letters to F. Antonio Romana y Aranda, padre of the mission, who received them kindly, and entertained them most hospitably. When he was told of their intention to visit the mountain, he said it was impossible with such weather, pointing to the black clouds that then enveloped its summit ; and he endeavoured to persuade the gentlemen to desist from so mad an attempt.

On the morning of the 27th, after mass, Mr. Eld and Dr. Pickering set out, but Mr. Sturges preferred to keep the good padre company until their return. The padre had provided them with guides, horses, twenty natives, and provisions for three days.

It took about two hours to reach the steep ascent. In three hours they reached the half-way house, and by half-past three they reached the summit. The ascent had been difficult, and was principally accomplished by catching hold of shrubs and the roots of trees. The summit is comparatively bare, and not more than fifty feet in width. The side opposite to that by which they mounted was perpendicular, but, owing to the thick fog, they could not see the depth to which the precipice descended.

The observations with the barometers gave the height of Banajoa as six thousand five hundred feet. The trees on the summit were twenty or thirty feet high, and a species of fir was very common. Gaultheria, attached to the trunks of trees, Rhododendrons, and Polygonums, also abounded. The rocks were so covered with soil that it was difficult to ascertain their character ; Dr. Pickering is of opinion, however, that they are not volcanic.

The night was passed uncomfortably at the half-way house, and in the morning they made an early start down the mountain to reach the native village at its foot, where they were refreshed with a cup of chocolate, cakes, and some dulces, according to the custom of the country. At ten o'clock they reached the mission, where they were received by the padre and Mr. Sturges. The former was greatly astonished to hear that they had really been to the summit, and had accomplished in twenty-four hours what he had deemed a labour of three days. He quickly attended to their wants ; even his wardrobe was placed at their disposal. During their absence, Mr. Sturges had been much amused with the discipline he had witnessed at the hands of the Church, which here seems to be the only visible ruling power. Two young natives had made complaint to the padre that a certain damsel had entered into vows or engagements to marry both : she was accordingly brought up before the padre, Mr. Sturges being present. The padre first lectured her most seriously upon the enormity of her crime, then inflicted several blows on the palm of her outstretched hand, again renewing the lecture, and finally concluding with another whipping. The girl was pretty, and excited the interest of our friend, who looked on wit

much desire to interfere, and save the damsel from the corporeal punishment, rendered more aggravated by the dispassionate and cool manner in which it and the lecture were administered. In the conversation which ensued, the padre said he had more cases of the violation of the marriage vow, and of infidelity, than any other class of crimes.

After a hearty breakfast, or rather dinner, and expressing their thanks to the padre, they set out on their return to Manilla.

At Baños the hot springs are numerous, the water issuing from the rock over a considerable surface. The quantity of water discharged by them is large, and the whole is collected and conducted to the bathing-houses. The temperature of the water at the mouth of the culvert was 180°.

The old bath-house is a singular-looking place, being built on the hillside, in the old Spanish style. It is beautifully situated, overlooking the baths and lake. The baths are of stone, and consist of two large rooms, in each of which is a niche, through which the hot water passes. This building is now in ruins, the roof and floors having fallen in.

Baños is a small village, but contains a respectable-looking stone church, and two or three houses of the same material. Here the party found a difficulty, for the alcalde could not speak Spanish, and they were obliged to use an interpreter, in order to communicate with him. Notwithstanding this, he is a magistrate, whose duty it is to administer laws written in that language.

The next day they set out on their journey to Mount Maquiling, the height of which is three thousand four hundred and fifty feet.

The mountain is composed of trachytic rocks and tufa, which are occasionally seen to break through the rich and deep soil, showing themselves here and there, in the deep valleys which former volcanic action has created, and which have destroyed the regular outline of the cone-shaped mountain. The tufa is generally found to form the gently sloping plains that surround these mountains, and has in all probability been ejected from them. Small craters, of some two hundred feet in height, are scattered over the plains. The tufa is likewise exposed to view on the shores of the lake; but elsewhere, except on a few bare hills, it is entirely covered with the dense and luxuriant foliage. The tufa is generally of a soft character, crumbling in the fingers, and in it are found coarse and fine fragments of scoria, pumice, &c. The layers are from a few inches to five feet in thickness.

In the country around Baños, there are several volcanic hills, and on the sides of Mount Maquiling are appearances of parasitic cones, similar to those observed at the Hawaiian Islands.

The baths had at one time a high reputation, and were a very fashionable resort for the society of Manilla; but their celebrity gradually diminished, and the whole premises have gone out of repair, and are fast falling to ruin.

On Mount Maquiling, wild buffaloes, hogs, a small species of deer, and monkeys, are found. Birds are also very numerous, and among them the horn-bill: the noise made by this bird resembles a



loud barking; report speaks of them as an excellent bird for the table. Our gentlemen reached their lodging-place as the night closed in, and the next day again embarked for Manilla. The plants which were met with were beautiful specimens of *Volkameria splendens*, with elegant scarlet flowers, and a *Brugmansia*, which expanded its beautiful silvery flowers after sunset. On the shores a number of birds were feeding, including pelicans, with their huge bills, the diver, with its long arched neck, herons, gulls, eagles, and snow-white cranes, with ducks and other small aquatic flocks. Towards night these were joined by large bats, that were seen winging their way towards the plantations of fruit. These, with quantities of insects, gave a vivid idea of the wonderful myriads of animated things that are constantly brought into being in these tropical and luxuriant climates.

Both the parties returned to Manilla the same day, highly pleased with their respective jaunts.

On the morning of the 21st of January, we took leave of our friends, and got under way. We then, with a strong northerly wind, and a native pilot on board, made all sail to the south for the Straits of Mindoro.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

## SOOLOO.

The Vincennes and Flying-Fish sail from Manila—Island of Mindoro—Island of Panay—Town of San José—Island of Mindanao—Samboangan—Island of Sooloo—The Vincennes Anchors in the Bay of Soung—House of the Datu or Governor—Personal Appearance of the Datu—Interview with the Sultan—His Personal Appearance—The Sultan's Son—Bowie-knife Pistol stolen—Restored—Character of the people of Sooloo—Dress of the Women—Occupations—Government of the Sooleo Archipelago—Population of the Island—The Vincennes sails for the Straits of Balabac—Mangsee Islands—Surveys made—Island of Balambangan—Straits of Singapore—Reunion of the Squadron—Cruise of the Porpoise and Oregon.

ON the evening of the 21st of January, the Vincennes, with the tender in company, left the bay of Manila.

On the 22nd, we passed the entrance of the Straits of San Bernadino. It would have been my most direct route to follow these straits until I had passed Mindoro. My object, however, was to examine the ground for the benefit of others, and the Apo Shoal, which lies about mid-channel between Palawan and Mindoro, claimed my first attention.

Calavite Peak is the north point of Mindoro. We made it two thousand feet high. This peak is of the shape of a dome, and appears remarkably regular when seen from its western side. Mindoro is a beautiful island, and is evidently volcanic; it appears as if thrown up in confused masses.

The highest peak of the island by triangulation was found to be three thousand one hundred and twenty-six feet.

On the 24th, I began to experience the truth of what Captain Halcon had asserted, namely, that the existing charts were entirely worthless, and I also found that my native pilot was of no more value than they were.

The southern part of Mindoro is much higher than the northern, but appears to be equally rough. It is, however, susceptible of cultivation, and there are many villages along its shores.

Semarara is moderately high, and about fifteen miles in circumference; it is inhabited, and like Mindoro, well wooded. According to the native pilot, its shores are free from shoals. The next day we succeeded in reaching Panay, and continued down the coast.

The island of Panay is high and broken, particularly on the south end; its shores are thickly settled and well cultivated. Indigo and sugar-cane claim much of the attention of the inhabitants. The Indians are the principal cultivators. They pay to government a capitation tax of seven rials. Its population is estimated at three

hundred thousand, which I think is rather short of the actual number.

On all the hills there are telegraphs of rude construction, to give information of the approach of piratical prahus from Sooloo, which formerly were in the habit of making attacks upon the defenceless inhabitants, and carrying them off into slavery. Of late years they have ceased these depredations, for the Spaniards have resorted to a new mode of warfare. Instead of pursuing and punishing the offenders, they now intercept all their supplies, both of necessities and luxuries; and the fear of this has had the effect to deter pirates from their usual attacks.

We remained off San Pedro for the night, in hopes of falling in with the Flying-Fish in the morning.

On the morning of the 28th, we opened the bay of Antique, on which is situated the town of San José. As this bay apparently offered anchorage for vessels bound up this coast, I determined to survey it; it offers no more than a temporary anchorage for vessels, and unless the shore is closely approached, the water is almost too deep for the purpose.

At San José a Spanish governor resides, who presides over the two pueblos of San Pedro and San José, and does the duty also of alcalde. About fifteen soldiers compose the governor's guard, and as many more were stationed at San Pedro. A small fort of eight guns commands the roadstead. The beach was found to be of fine volcanic sand, composed chiefly of oxide of iron, and comminuted shells; there is here also a narrow shore reef of coral. The plain bordering the sea is covered with a dense growth of cocoa-nut trees. In the fine season the bay is secure, but in westerly and south-westerly gales heavy seas set in, and vessels are not able to lie at anchor.

Panay is one of the largest islands of the group. The height of its western peaks or highlands does not exceed three thousand feet. The interior and eastern side have many lofty summits, which are said to reach an altitude of seven thousand five hundred feet; but these, as we passed, were shut out from view by the nearer highlands. The general features of the island are like those of Luzon and Mindoro. The higher land was bare of trees, and had it not been for the numerous fertile valleys lying between the sharp and rugged spurs, it would have had a sterile appearance.

The town of San José has about thirty bamboo houses, some of which are filled in with clay or mortar, and plastered over, both inside and out. Few of them are more than a single story in height. That of the governor is of the same material, and overtops the rest; it is white-washed, and has a neat and cleanly appearance. In the vicinity of the town are several beautiful valleys, which run into the mountains from the plain that borders the bay. The landing is on a bamboo bridge, which has been erected over an extensive mud-flat, that is exposed at low water, and prevents any nearer approach of boats. This bridge is about seven hundred feet in length; and a novel plan has been adopted to preserve it from being carried away. The stems of bamboo not being sufficiently large and heavy to

maintain the superstructure in the soft mud, a scaffold is constructed just under the top, which is loaded with blocks of large stone, and the outer piles are secured to anchors or rocks with grass rope. The roadway or top is ten feet wide, covered with split bamboo, woven together, and has rails on each side, to assist the passenger. This is absolutely necessary for safety; and even with this aid, one unaccustomed to it must be possessed of no little bodily strength to pass over this smooth, slippery, and springy bridge without accident.

Carts and sleds drawn by buffaloes were in use, and everything gave it the appearance of a thriving village.

At daylight on the 31st, we had the island of Mindanao before us, but did not reach its western cape until 5 p.m. This island is high and broken, like those to the north of it; but, unlike them, its mountains are covered with forests to their very tops, and there were no distinct cones of minor dimensions, as we had observed on the others.

I had determined to anchor at Caldera, a small port on the south-west side of Mindanao, about ten miles distant from Samboangan, where the governor resides. The latter is a considerable place, but the anchorage in its roadstead is bad, and the currents that run through the Straits of Basilan are strong. Caldera, on the other hand, has a good, though small anchorage, which is free from the currents of the straits. It is therefore an excellent stopping-place, in case of the tide proving unfavourable. On one of its points stands a small fort, which, on our arrival, hoisted Spanish colours.

At six o'clock we came to anchor at Caldera. There were few indications of inhabitants, except at and near the fort. It was found to be occupied by a few soldiers under the command of a lieutenant.

The fort is about seventy feet square, and is built of large blocks of red coral, which evidently have not been taken from the vicinity of the place, as was stated by the officers of the fort; for, although our parties wandered along the alluvial beach for two or three miles in each direction, no signs of coral were observed. Many fragments of red, gray, and purple basalt and porphyry were met with along the beach; talcose rock and slate, syenite, hornblend, quartz, both compact and slaty, with chalcedony, were found in pieces and large pebbles. The bottom of the bay was of coral, but this was of a different kind from that of which the fort was constructed.

The fort was built in the year 1784, principally for protection against the Sooloo pirates, who were in the habit of visiting the settlements, and carrying off the inhabitants as slaves, to obtain ransom for them. This and others of the same description were therefore constructed as places of refuge for the inhabitants, as well as to afford protection to vessels.

Depredations are still committed, which render it necessary to keep up a small force. One or two huts which were seen in the neighbourhood of the bay, are built on posts twenty feet from the ground, and into them they ascend by ladders, which are hauled up after the occupants have entered.

These, it is said, are the sleeping-huts, and are so built for the purpose of preventing surprise at night. Before our arrival we had heard that the villages were all so constructed, but a visit to one soon showed that this was untrue. The natives seen at the village were thought to be of a decidedly lighter colour and a somewhat different expression from the Malays. They were found to be very civil, and more polished in manners.

The forests of Mindanao contain a great variety of trees, of large size, rising to the height of one hundred, and one hundred and fifty feet. Some of their trunks are shaped like buttresses, from which they obtain broad slabs for the tops of tables. The trunks were observed to shoot up remarkably straight. Large woody vines were common, which enveloped the trunks of trees in their folds, and ascending to their tops, prevented the collection of the most desirable specimens.

The paths leading to the interior were narrow and much obstructed: one fine stream was crossed. Many buffaloes were observed wallowing in the mire, and the woods swarmed with monkeys and numbers of birds, among them the horn-bills: these kept up a continual chatter, and made a variety of loud noises. The forests here are entirely different from any we had seen elsewhere; and the stories of their being the abode of large boas and poisonous snakes, make the effect still greater on those who visit them for the first time. Our parties, however, saw nothing of these reptiles, nor anything to warrant a belief that such exist. Yet the officer at the fort related to me many snake stories that seemed to have some foundation; and by inquiries made elsewhere, I learned that they were at least warranted by some facts, though probably not to the extent that he represented.

Traces of deer and wild hogs were seen, and many birds were obtained, as well as land and sea shells. Among the latter was the *Mallus vulgaris*, which is used as food by the natives. The soil on this part of the island is a stiff clay, and the plants it produces are mostly woody; those of an herbaceous character were scarce, and only a few orchideous epiphytes and ferns were seen. Around the dwellings in the villages a variety of vegetables and fruits, consisting of sugar-cane, sweet potato, gourds, pumpkins, peppers, rice, water and musk melons, all fine and of large size.

The inhabitants of the island of Mindanao who are under the subjection of Spain, are about ten thousand in number, of whom five or six thousand are at or in the neighbourhood of Samboangan. The original inhabitants, who dwell in the mountains and on the east coast, are said to be quite black, and are represented to be a very cruel and bad set; they have hitherto bid defiance to all attempts to subjugate them. When the Spaniards make excursions into the interior, which is seldom, they always go in large parties on account of the wild beasts, serpents, and hostile natives: nevertheless, the latter frequently attack and drive them back.

The little fort is considered as a sufficient protection for the fishermen and small vessels against the pirates who inhabit the island of Basillan, which is in sight from Mindanao, and forms the

southern side of the straits of the same name. It is said that about seven hundred inhabit it. The name of Moor is given by the Spaniards to all those who profess the Mohammedan religion, and by such all the islands to the west of Mindanao, and known under the name of the Sooloo Archipelago, are inhabited.

At daylight, on the 1st of February, we got under way to stand over for the Sangboya, a small island with two sharp hills on it.

Shortly after passing the Sangboya, we had the island of Sooloo in sight. At sunset we found ourselves within five or six miles of Soung Harbour; but there was not sufficient light to risk the dangers that might be in our course, nor wind enough to command the ship; and having no bottom where we were, I determined again to run out to sea, and anchor on the first bank I should meet. At half-past eight o'clock, we struck sounding in twenty-six fathoms, and anchored.

At daylight we determined that we were about fifteen miles from the large island of Sooloo. Weighing anchor, we were shortly wafted by the westerly tide and a light air towards that beautiful island, which lay in the midst of its little archipelago; and as we were brought nearer and nearer, we came to the conclusion that in our many wanderings we had seen nothing to be compared to this enchanting spot. It appeared to be well cultivated, with gentle slopes rising here and there into eminences from one to two thousand feet high. One or two of these might be dignified with the name of mountains, and were sufficiently high to arrest the passing clouds.

Although much of the island was under cultivation, yet it had all the freshness of a forest region. The many smokes on the hills, buildings of large size, cottages, and cultivated spots, together with the moving crowds on the land, the prahus, canoes, and fishing-boats on the water, gave the whole a civilised appearance. Our own vessel lay, almost without a ripple at her side, on the glassy surface of the sea, carried onwards to our destined anchorage by the flowing tide, and scarce a sound was heard except the splashing of the lead as it sought the bottom. The effect of this was destroyed in part by the knowledge that this beautiful archipelago was the abode of a cruel and barbarous race of pirates. Towards sunset we had nearly reached the bay of Soung, when we were met by the opposing tide, which compelled us to anchor.

The next morning at eight o'clock we got under way, and were towed by our boats into the bay of Soung, where we anchored off the town in nine fathoms water. While in the act of doing so, and after our intentions had become too evident to admit of a doubt, the sultan graciously sent off a message giving us permission to enter his port.

Lieutenant Budd was immediately dispatched with the interpreter to call upon the datu mulu, or governor, and to learn at what hour we could see the sultan. When the officer reached the town, all were found asleep; and after remaining four hours waiting, the only answer he could get out of the datu mulu was, that he supposed that the sultan would be awake at three o'clock, when he thought I could see him.

At the appointed time, Captain Hudson and myself went on shore to wait upon the sultan. On our approach to the town, we found that a great proportion of it was built over the water on piles, and only connected with the shore by narrow bridges of bamboo. The style of building in Sooloo does not differ materially from that of the Malays. The houses are rather larger, and they surpass the others in filth.

We passed for some distance between the bridges to the landing, and on our way saw several piratical prahus apparently laid up. Twenty of these were counted, of about thirty tons burden, evidently built for sea-vessels, and capable of mounting one or two long guns. We landed at a small streamlet, and walked a short distance to the datu's house, which is of large dimensions and rudely built on piles, which raise it about six feet above the ground, and into which we were invited. The house of the datu contains one room, part of which is screened off to form the apartment of his wife. Nearly in the centre is a raised dais, eight or ten feet square, under which are stowed all his valuables, packed in chests and Chinese trunks. Upon this dais are placed mats for sleeping, with cushions, pillows, &c.; and over it is a sort of canopy, hung around with fine chintz or muslin.

The dais was occupied by the datu, who is, next to the sultan, the greatest man of this island. He at once came from it to receive us, and had chairs provided for us near his sanctum. After we were seated, he again retired to his lounge. The datu is small in person, and emaciated in form, but has a quick eye and an intelligent countenance. He lives, as he told me, with all his goods around him, and they formed a collection such as I could scarcely imagine it possible to bring together in such a place. The interior put me in mind of a barn inhabited by a company of strolling players. On one side were hung up a collection of various kinds of gay dresses, here drums and gongs, there swords, lanterns, spears, muskets, and small cannon; on another side were shields, bucklers, masks, saws, and wheels, with belts, bands, and long robes. The whole was a strange mixture of tragedy and farce; and the group of natives were not far removed in appearance from the supernumeraries that a Turkish tragedy might have brought together in the green-room of a theatre. A set of more cowardly looking miscreants I never saw. They appeared ready either to trade with us, pick our pockets, or cut our throats, as an opportunity might offer.

The wife's apartment was not remarkable for its comforts, although the datu spoke of it with much consideration, and evidently held his better half in high estimation. He was also proud of his six children, the youngest of whom he brought out in its nurse's arms, and exhibited it with much pride and satisfaction. He particularly drew my attention to its little highly wrought and splendidly mounted kris, which was stuck through its girdle, as an emblem of his rank. The kitchen was behind the house, and occupied but a small space, for they have little in the way of food that requires much preparation. The house of the datu might justly be termed nasty.

We now learned the reason why the sultan could not be seen ; it was Friday, the Mohammedan Sabbath, and he had been at the mosque from an early hour, and the ceremonies of the day were more important than usual, on account of its peculiar sanctity in their calendar.

Word had been sent off to the ship that the sultan was ready to receive me, but the messenger passed us while on our way to the shore. After we had been seated for a while, the datu asked if we were ready to accompany him to see the sultan ; but intimated that no one but Captain Hudson and myself could be permitted to set eyes on him. Being informed that we were, he at once, and in our presence, slipped on his silken trowsers, and a new jacket, covered with bell-buttons ; put on his slippers, strapped himself round with a long silken net-sash, into which he stuck his kris, and, with umbrella in hand, said he was ready. He now led the way out of his house, leaving the motley group behind, and we took the path to the interior of the town, towards the sultan's. The datu and I walked hand in hand, on a roadway about ten feet wide, with a small stream running on each side. Captain Hudson and the interpreter came next, and a guard of six trusty slaves brought up the rear.

When we reached the outskirts of the town, about half a mile from the datu's, we came to the sultan's residence, where he was prepared to receive us in state. His house is constructed in the same manner as that of the datu, but is of larger dimensions, and the piles are rather higher. Instead of steps, we found a ladder, rudely constructed of bamboo, and very crazy. This was so steep that it was necessary to use the hands in mounting it. I understood that the ladder was always removed in the night, for the sake of security. We entered at once into the presence-chamber, where the whole divan, if such it may be called, sat in arm-chairs, occupying the half of a large round table, covered with a white cotton cloth. On the opposite side of the table, seats were placed for us. On our approach, the sultan and all his council rose, and motioned us to our seats. When we had taken them, the part of the room behind us was literally crammed with well-armed men. A few minutes were passed in silence, during which time we had an opportunity of looking at each other, and around the hall in which we were seated. The latter was of very common workmanship, and exhibited no signs of oriental magnificence. Overhead hung a printed cotton cloth, forming a kind of tester, which covered about half the apartment. In other places the roof and rafters were visible. A part of the house was roughly partitioned off, to the height of nine or ten feet, enclosing, as I was afterwards told, the sultan's sleeping apartment, and that appropriated to his wife and her attendants.

The sultan is of the middle height, spare and thin ; he was dressed in a white cotton shirt, loose trowsers of the same material, and slippers ; he had no stockings ; the bottom of his trowsers was worked in scollops with blue silk, and this was the only ornament I saw about him. On his head he wore a small coloured cotton handkerchief, wound into a turban, that just covered the top



of his head. His eyes were bloodshot, and had an uneasy wild look, showing that he was under the effects of opium, of which they all smoke large quantities. His teeth were as black as ebony, which, with his bright cherry-coloured lips,\* contrasted with his swarthy skin, gave him anything but a pleasant look.

On the left hand of the sultan sat his two sons, while his right was occupied by his councillors; just behind him sat the carrier of his betel-nut casket. The casket was of filigree silver, about the size of a small tea-caddy, of oblong shape, and rounded at the top. It had three divisions, one for the leaf, another for the nut, and a third for the lime. Next to this official was the pipe-bearer, who did not appear to be held in such estimation as the former.

I opened the conversation by desiring that the datu would explain the nature of our visit, and tell the sultan that I had come to make the treaty which he had some time before desired to form with the United States.†

The sultan replied, that such was still his desire; upon which I told him, I would draw one up for him that same day. While I was explaining to him the terms, a brass candlestick was brought in with a lighted tallow candle, of a very dark colour, and rude shape, that showed but little art in the manufacture. This was placed in the centre of the table, with a plate of Manilla cigars. None of them, however, were offered to us, nor any kind of refreshment.

Our visit lasted nearly an hour. When we rose to take our leave, the sultan and his divan did the same, and we made our exit with low bows on each side.

I looked upon it as a matter of daily occurrence for all those who came to the island to visit the sultan; but the datumulu took great pains to make me believe that a great favour had been granted in allowing us a sight of his ruler. On the other hand, I dwelt upon the condescension it was on my part to visit him, and I refused to admit that I was under any gratitude or obligation for the sight of His Majesty, the Sultan Mohammed Damaliel Kisand, but said that he might feel grateful to me if he signed the treaty I would prepare for him.

On our return from the sultan's to the datu mulu's house, we found even a greater crowd than before. The datu, however, contrived to get us seats. The attraction which drew it together was to look at Mr. Agate, who was taking a sketch of Mohammed Polalu, the sultan's son, and next heir to the throne. I had hoped to procure one of the sultan, but this was declared to be impossible. The son, however, has all the characteristics of the Soolooa, and the likeness was thought an excellent one. Mohammed Polalu is about twenty-three years of age, of a tall slender figure, with a long face, heavy and dull eyes, as though he was constantly under the influence of opium. So much, indeed, was he

\* Chewing the betel-nut and pepper-leaf also produces this effect, and is carried to a great extent among these islanders.

† The sultan, on the visit of one of our merchant-vessels, had informed the supercargo that he wished to encourage our trade, and to see the vessels of the United States coming to his port.

addicted to the use of this drug, even according to the datu mulu's accounts, that his strength and constitution were very much impaired. As he is kept particularly under the guardianship of the datu, the latter has a strong interest in preserving this influence over him, and seems to afford him every opportunity of indulging in this deplorable habit.

During our visit, the effects of a pipe of this drug was seen upon him; for but a short time after he had reclined himself on the



SON OF SULTAN OF SOOLOO.

datu's couch and cushion, and taken a few whiffs, he was entirely overcome, stupid and listless. I had never seen any one so young, bearing such evident marks of the effects of this deleterious drug. When but partially recovered from the stupor he called for his betel-nut, to revive him by its exciting effects. This was carefully chewed by his attendant to a proper consistency, moulded in a ball about the size of a walnut, and then slipped into the mouth of the heir-apparent.

One of the requests I had made of the sultan was, that the officers might have guides to pass over the island. This was at once said to be too dan-

gerous to be attempted, as the datu's of the interior and southern towns would in all probability attack the parties. I understood what this meant, and replied that I was quite willing to take the responsibility, and that the party should be well armed. To this the sultan replied, that he would not risk his own men. At the datu's we were treated to chocolate and negus in gilt-edged tumblers, with small stale cakes, which had been brought from Manilla.

After we had sat some time I was informed that Mr. Dana missed his bowie-knife pistol, which he had for a moment laid down on a chest. I at once came to the conclusion that it had been stolen, and as the theft had occurred in the datu's house, I determined to hold him responsible for it, and gave him at once to understand that I should do so, informing him that the pistol must be returned before the next morning, or he must take the consequences. This threw him into some consternation, and by my manner he felt that I was serious.

The theft was so barefaced an affair, that I made up my mind to insist on its restoration. At the setting of the watch in the evening, it had been our practice on board the Vincennes to fire a small brass howitzer. This frequently, in the calm evenings, produced a great reverberation, and rolled along the water to the surrounding islands with considerable noise. Instead of it, on this evening, I ordered one of the long guns to be fired, believing that the sound and

reverberation alone would suffice to intimidate such robbers. One was accordingly fired in the direction of the town, which fairly shook the island, as they said, and it was not long before we saw that the rogues were fully aroused; for the clatter of gongs and voices that came over the water, and the motion of lights, convinced me that the pistol would be forthcoming in the morning. In this I was not mistaken, for at early daylight I was awakened by a special messenger from the datu to tell me that the pistol was found, and would be brought off without delay; that he had been searching for it all night, and had at last succeeded in finding it, as well as the thief, on whom he intended to inflict the bastinado. Accordingly, in a short time the pistol was delivered on board, and every expression of friendship and good-will given, with the strongest assurances that nothing of the kind should happen again.

Few if any of the Sooloos can write or read, though many talk Spanish. Their accounts are all kept by the slaves. Those who can read and write are, in consequence, highly prized. All the accounts of the datu of Soung are kept in Dutch, by a young Malay from Ternate, who writes a good hand, and speaks English, and whom we found exceedingly useful to us. He is the slave of the datu, who employs him for this purpose only. He told us he was captured in a brig by the pirates of Basillan, and sold here as a slave, where he is likely to remain for life, although he says the datu has promised to give him his freedom after ten years.

Horses, cows, and buffaloes are the beasts of burden, and a Sooloo may be usually seen riding either the one or the other, armed cap-a-pie, with kris, spear, and target, or shield.

They use saddles cut out of solid wood, and many ride with their stirrups so short that they bring the knees very high, and the riders look more like well-grown monkeys than mounted men. The cows and buffaloes are guided by a piece of thong, through the cartilage of the nose. By law, no swine are allowed to be kept on the island, and if they are bought, they are immediately killed. The Chinese are obliged to raise and kill their pigs very secretly, when they desire that species of food; for, notwithstanding the law and the prejudices of the inhabitants, the former continue to keep swine.

The inhabitants of Sooloo are a tall, thin, and effeminate-looking race: I do not recollect to have seen one corpulent person among them. Their faces are peculiar for length, particularly in the lower jaw and chin, with high cheek-bones, sunken, lack-lustre eyes, and narrow foreheads. Their heads are thinly covered with hair, which appears to be kept closely cropped. I was told that they pluck out their beards, and dye their teeth black with antimony, and some file them.

Their eyebrows appear to be shaven, forming a very regular and high arch, which they esteem a great beauty.

The dress of the common people is very like that of the Chinese, with loose and full sleeves, without buttons. The materials of which it is made are grass-cloths, silks, satins, or white cotton, from China. There is no outward respect or obeisance shown by the slave to his master, nor is the presence of the datu, or even of the

sultan himself, held in any awe. All appear upon an equality, and there does not seem to be any controlling power; yet it may be at once perceived that they are suspicious and jealous of strangers.

The Sooloos have but few qualities to redeem their treachery, cruelty, and revengeful dispositions; and one of the principal causes of their being so predominant, or even of their existence, is their inordinate lust for power. When they possess this, it is accompanied by a haughty, consequential, and ostentatious bravery. No



SOOLOO RIDING.

greater affront can be offered to a Sooloo, than to underrate his dignity and official consequence. Such an insult is seldom forgiven, and never forgotten. From one who has made numerous voyages to these islands, I have obtained many of the above facts, and my own observation assures me that this view of their character is a correct one. I would, however, add another trait, which is common among them, and that is cowardice, which is obvious, in spite of their boasted prowess and daring.

The dress of the women is not unlike that of the men in appearance. They wear close jackets of various colours when they go abroad, and the same loose breeches as the men, but over them they usually have a large wrapper, (sarong,) not unlike the pareu of the Polynesian islanders, which is put around them like a petticoat, or thrown over the shoulders. Their hair is drawn to the back of the head, and around the forehead it is shaven in the form of a regular arch, to correspond with the eyebrows. Those that I saw at the sultan's were like the Malays, and had light complexions, with very black teeth. The datu thought them very handsome, and on our return he asked me if I had seen the sultan's beauties. The females of Sooloo have the reputation of ruling their lords, and possess much weight in the government by the influence they exert over their husbands.

It may be owing to this that there is little jealousy of their

wives, who are said to hold their virtues in no very great estimation. In their houses they are but scantily clothed, though women of rank have always a large number of rings on their fingers, some of which are of great value, as well as ear-rings of fine gold. They wear no stockings, but have on Chinese slippers or Spanish shoes. They are as capable of governing as their husbands, and in many cases more so, as they associate with the slaves, from whom they obtain some knowledge of Christendom, and of the habits and customs of other nations, which they study to imitate in every way.

The mode in which the Sooloos employ their time may be exemplified by giving that of the datu; for all, whether free or slave, endeavour to imitate the higher rank as far as in their power. The datu seldom rise before eleven o'clock, unless they have some particular business; and the datu mulu complained of being sleepy in consequence of the early hour at which we had disturbed him.

On rising, they have chocolate served in gilt glass ware, with some light biscuit, and sweetmeats imported from China or Manilla, of which they informed me they laid in large supplies. They then lounge about their houses, transacting a little business, and playing at various games, or, in the trading season, go to the meeting of the Ruma Bechara.

At sunset they take their principal meal, consisting of stews of fish, poultry, beef, eggs, and rice, prepared somewhat after the Chinese and Spanish modes, mixed up with that of the Malay. Although Moslems, they do not forego the use of wine, and some are said to indulge in it to a great extent. After sunset, when the air has become somewhat cooled by the refreshing breezes, they sally forth attended by their retainers to take a walk, or proceed to the bazaars to purchase goods, or to sell or to barter away their articles of produce. They then pay visits to their friends, when they are in the habit of having frequent convivial parties, talking over their bargains, smoking cigars, drinking wine and liquors, tea, coffee, and chocolate, and indulging in their favorite pipe of opium. At times they are entertained with music, both vocal and instrumental, by their dependants. Of this art they appear to be very fond, and there are many musical instruments among them. A datu, indeed, would be looked upon as uneducated if he could not play on some instrument.

It is considered polite that when refreshments are handed they should be partaken of. Those offered us by the datu were such as are usual, but everything was stale. Of fruit they are said to be very fond, and can afford to indulge themselves in any kinds. With all these articles to cloy the appetite, only one set meal a day is taken; though the poorer classes, fishermen and labourers, partake of two.

The government of the Sooloo Archipelago is a kind of oligarchy, and the supreme authority is vested in the sultan and the Ruma Bechara or trading council. This consists of about twenty chiefs, either datu, or their next in rank, called oranges, who are governors of towns or detached provinces. The influence of the individual chiefs depends chiefly upon the number of their retainers or slav

and the force they can bring into their service when they require it. These are purchased from the pirates, who bring them to Sooloo and its dependencies for sale. The slaves are employed in a variety of ways, as in trading prahus, in the pearl and biche-de-mar fisheries, and in the search after the edible birds'-nests.

A few are engaged in agriculture, and those who are at all educated are employed as clerks. These slaves are not denied the right of holding property, which they enjoy during their lives, but at their death it reverts to their master. Some of them are quite rich, and, what may appear strange, the slaves of Sooloo are invariably better off than the untitled freemen, who are at all times the prey of the hereditary datus, even of those who hold no official stations. By all accounts these constitute a large portion of the population, and it being treason for any low-born freeman to injure or maltreat a datu, the latter seldom keep themselves within bounds in their treatment of their inferiors. The consequence is, the lower class of freemen are obliged to put themselves under the protection of some particular datu, which guards them from the encroachment of others. The chief to whom they thus attach themselves, is induced to treat them well, in order to retain their services, and attach them to his person, that he may, in case of need, be enabled to defend himself from depredations, and the violence of his neighbours.

Such is the absence of legal restraint, that all find it necessary to go abroad armed, and accompanied by a trusty set of followers, who are also armed. This is the case both by day and night, and, according to the datu's account, frequent affrays take place in the open streets, which not unfrequently end in bloodshed.

Caution is never laid aside, the only law that exists being that of force; but the weak contrive to balance the power of the strong by uniting.

The island of Sooloo does not contain more than thirty thousand inhabitants, of which the town of Soung may have six or seven thousand. The whole group may number about one hundred and thirty thousand. The Chinese comprise about an eighth of the population of the town, and are generally of the lower class. They are constantly busy at their trades, and intent upon making money.

At Soung, business seems active, and all, slaves as well as masters, seem to engage in it. The absence of a strong government leaves all at liberty to act for themselves, and the Ruma Bechara gives unlimited freedom to trade. These circumstances promote the industry of the community, and even that of the slave, for he too, as before observed, has a life interest in what he earns.

Soung being the residence of the sultan, as well as the grand depôt for all piratical goods, is more of a mart than any of the surrounding towns.

Supplies of all kinds may be had in abundance. Beef is cheap, and vegetables and fruits at all seasons plenty.

On the 6th, having concluded the treaty and the other business that had taken me to Sooloo, we took our departure for the Straits

of Balabac, the western entrance into this sea. By noon we had reached the group of Pangootaaraang, consisting of five small islands. All of these are low, covered with trees, and without lagoons. They presented a great contrast to Sooloo, which was seen behind us in the distance. The absence of the swell of the ocean in sailing through this sea is striking, and gives the idea of navigating an extensive bay, on whose luxuriant islands no surf breaks. There are, however, sources of danger that incite the navigator to watchfulness and constant anxiety; the hidden shoals and reefs, and the sweep of the tide, which leave him no control over his vessel.

At daylight on the 7th, we made the island of Cagayan Sooloo; it has a pleasant appearance from the sea, and may be termed a high island. It is less covered with undergrowth and mangrove bushes than the neighbouring islands, and the reefs are comparatively small. Its caves formerly supplied a large quantity of edible birds'-nests; large numbers of cattle were to be found upon it; and its cultivation was carried on to some extent. These articles of commerce are not so much attended to at the present time, and the biche-de-mar and tortoise-shell, formerly brought hither, are now carried to other places.

On the 8th, we made the Mangsee Islands ahead of us, and likewise Balabac to the north, and Balambangan to the south. Several sand-banks and extensive reefs were also seen between them. On seeing the ground on which we had to operate, of which the published charts gave no idea whatever, I determined to proceed, and take a central position with the ship under the Mangsee Islands, near the reef.

The parties were organised—the first to proceed to the north, towards Balabac Island, to survey the intermediate shoals and reefs, under Lieutenant Emmons and Mr. Totten; the second to the south, under Lieutenants Perry and Budd; and Mr. Hammersly for the survey of the shoals of Balambangan and Banguay, and their reefs. The examination of the Mangsee Islands, and the reefs adjacent, with the astronomical and magnetic observations, &c., devolved on myself and those who remained on board the ship.

We flattered ourselves that the extensive reefs would produce a fine harvest of shells; but although every exertion was made in the search, we did not add as many to our collections as we anticipated. Some land-shells, however, were found that we little expected to meet with, for many of the trees were covered with them, and on cutting them down, large quantities were easily obtained. Several birds, among which was a Nicobar pigeon, and some interesting plants and corals, were also added.

Although the time was somewhat unfavourable, the parties executed their orders within the time designated. Lieutenant Perry encountered some Sooloos on the island of Balambangan, whom he thought were disposed to attack him. The natives, no doubt, were under the impression that the boats were from some shipwrecked vessel. They were all well armed, and apparently prepared to take advantage of the party if possible; but, by the prudence and

forbearance of this officer, collision was avoided, and his party saved from an attack.

The island of Balambangan was obtained from the Sooloos for a settlement and place of deposit, by the East India Company, who took possession of it in 1773. Its situation off the northern end of Borneo, near the fertile district of that island, its central position, and its two fine ports, offered great advantages for commerce, and for its becoming a great entrepôt for the riches of this archipelago. Troops, and stores of all kinds, were sent from India; numbers of Chinese and Malays were induced to settle; and Mr. Herbert, one of the council of Bencoolen, was appointed governor. It had been supposed to be a healthy place, as the island was elevated, and therefore probably free from malaria; but in 1775 the native troops from India became much reduced from sickness, and the post consequently much weakened. This, with the absence of the cruisers from the harbour, afforded a favourable opportunity for its capture, and the wealth that it was supposed to contain created an inducement that proved too great for the hordes of marauding pirates to resist. Choosing their time, they rushed upon the sentries, put them to death, took possession of the guns, and turned them against the garrison, only a few of whom made their escape on board of a small vessel. The booty in goods and valuables was said to have been very large, amounting to nearly four hundred thousand pounds sterling.

On the 13th, we passed near the location of the Viper Shoal, but saw nothing of it.

On the 18th, we made Pulo Aor and Pulo Pedang, and arriving off the Straits of Singapore I hove-to, to await daylight. In the morning at dawn, we found ourselves in close company with a Chinese junk. The 19th, until late in the afternoon, we were in the Singapore Straits, making but slow progress towards this emporium of the east. The number of native as well as foreign vessels which we passed, proved that we were approaching some great mart, and at 5 P.M. we dropped our anchor in Singapore Roads. Here we found the Porpoise, Oregon, and Flying-Fish, all well: the two former had arrived on the 22nd of January, nearly a month before, the latter, three days previously. Before concluding this chapter, I shall revert to their proceedings since our separation off the Sandwich Islands.

The instructions to the brigs have been heretofore given; but it may not be amiss to repeat here that the object in detaching them was, that they might explore the line of reefs and islands known to exist to the northward and westward of the Hawaiian Group, and thence continue their course towards the coast of Japan. Had they effected the latter object, it would have given important results in relation to the force of the currents, and the temperature of the water. It was desirable, if possible, to ascertain with certainty the existence on the coast of Japan of a current similar to the Gulf Stream, to which my attention had been particularly drawn.

The first land they made was on the 1st of December, 1841, and was Necker Island, which is apparently a mass of volcanic rocks,



about three hundred feet high, and is destitute of any kind of vegetation, but covered with guano. The furious surf that was beating on all sides of the island, precluded all possibility of a landing being made.

The French frigate, *Shoal*, was seen on the 3rd.

On the 7th, the *Maro Reef* was made. On the 8th, they passed over the site of *Neva Isle*, as laid down by *Arrowsmith*, but no indications of land were seen.

On the 11th, *Lieutenant-Commandant Ringgold* determined, on account of the condition of the brigs, and the continuance of bad weather, it was impossible to keep their course to the northward and westward towards the coast of Japan; he therefore hauled to the southward, and followed so very nearly in the same track as that pursued by the *Vincennes*, towards the *China Seas*, that nothing new was elicited by them.

After a passage of fifty-six days from the *Sandwich Islands*, they dropped their anchors in *Singapore* on the 19th of January, 1842.



## CHAPTER XIX.

## SINGAPORE.

Variety of Shipping in the Roads—View of the Town—American Consul—Entrance of the River—Landing—Variety of Costumes, Races, Religions, and Languages—Police and Military Force—Tigers—Botany and Cultivated Plants—Mode of Conveyance—Chinese Inhabitants—Their Gambling—Their Appearance and Dress—Their Festival of the New Year—Their Theatricals—Convicts—Market—Currency—Malays—Armenians—Parsees—Mixture of Races—Ship of the King of Cochinchina—Chinese Junks—Trade of Singapore—Opium Shops—Population—Sale of Flying Fish—Departure from Singapore.



E found at Singapore a collection of shipping, of various sizes, from the tiny cock-boat to the stately and well-formed Indiaman, from the vast hulk-like junk to the light and skipping sampan.\* Not only were a great part of the vessels of a novel description, but

their national flags were equally strange. Many of the latter were now seen by us for the first time, and were displayed in various ways; some flew at each mast-head, others floated from horizontal yards, while the more civilised

nations were distinguished by ensigns pendent from the peak.

The variety in the style of paint and ornament was equally great. The Chinese junks exhibited their arched sides, painted in curved streaks of red, yellow, and white; the Siamese ships, half European in structure and model, showed huge carved sterns; and these were contrasted with the long, low, and dark hulls of the prahus and the opium-smuggler. The two latter classes perhaps excited the greatest attention, in consequence of the war they are continually carrying on against the property and lives, as well as the morals and laws, of the natives of the surrounding countries.

\* The sampan is a light and easy-pulling boat, used at Singapore to carry passengers to and from the shipping in the roads.

On some days the roads of Singapore appear crowded, while on others they are comparatively empty; many vessels are continually arriving and departing, the Chinese junks alone appear as fixtures; more than fifty of them were counted, with sails unbent, yards housed, and rudders unhung; in which state they resemble floating shops, wherein are offered for sale assortments of every article produced or manufactured in the Celestial Empire; samples of which, by way of sign, are to be seen hanging about them in all directions. These junks make one voyage a year, performing their passage in either direction during the favouring monsoon.

The situation of the town is low, as well as that of the island on which it is built. The highest point of the latter is not more than five hundred feet above the level of the sea, and even this elevation is distant, so that there is nothing to render the scenery picturesque, nor has it much of the character that is styled Oriental.

The stranger, after anchoring in the roads, is not long ignorant how large a concourse of various races is here assembled. Our ship was crowded from an early hour with tailors, shoemakers, washerwomen, and venders of curiosities. The latter brought shells, birds of Paradise, monkeys, parrots, corals, and mats. Without-board there were innumerable bumboats, bringing for sale fresh bread, eggs, milk, chickens and ducks, both alive and cooked, fish, fruit, and vegetables. All sued piteously for permission to come alongside, and made a prodigious clatter. The features, dress, and language of the venders were as various as the articles they had to sell; and they agreed only in the common character of a dark skin. The specimen thus presented of the population of Singapore prepared us for the sight of the motley group we were to meet on shore.

At Singapore I had the pleasure of renewing my acquaintance with Mr. Balestier, our worthy consul. To him, his lady, and his son, we are under many obligations for their kind treatment and attention. Mr. Balestier is so well known among men of science in the United States, it would be needless for me to say that from him I derived much interesting information relative to the place, its commerce, &c., for which I here offer my acknowledgments. He was extensively engaged in the cultivation of sugar, on a plantation of one thousand acres, within two miles of Singapore, nearly half of which was under cultivation. This extent of ground he has by his exertions reclaimed from the jungle, and it bids fair to repay the labour and expense he has incurred in clearing and bringing it into cultivation. He is the first person who has attempted the cultivation of sugar at Singapore, and for his success he was awarded the gold medal of the Calcutta Agricultural Society.

On reaching the mouth of the river, as was to be expected, the crowd thickened, and the way became more and more obstructed, until we were fairly jammed among the sampans, with their crowded population. The river does not exceed two hundred and fifty feet in width. It is shallow at its mouth, and passes through the centre, or rather divides the old from the new town; these are connected by a wooden bridge. As far up as the bridge, which is about one-third of a mile from the entrance, the river is of various widths,

and its banks have been carefully built up with stone, having steps occasionally for the convenience of landing from the boats. A large population is on the river, dwelling in the sampans, which are all crowded with men, women, and children, the latter naked, and frolicking in and out of the water at pleasure. These boats are ranged in rows on each side of the passage towards the bridge, and are confined by stakes stuck in the bottom. As may be well imagined, there are frequent accidents and misadventures, that call for the exercise of the lungs of this crowded multitude, yet during the many opportunities I had of viewing them, both by day and night, I have seldom seen a set of people apparently so contented.

We landed at the bridge, near which is the office of our consul, in a large quadrangular building, one side of which faces the river. The terms of old and new town promise a difference of architecture as well as inhabitants, which they amply fulfil. The former occupies the south-west or left-hand side of the river, and exhibits along the quay a fine row of stuccoed or chunamed warehouses. The lower story of the greater part of these is an arcade supported by pillars at short distances. They are only two stories high, devoid of architectural ornament, but are convenient buildings for the trade. On the right are to be seen the buildings appropriated to the government offices. These are situated on an extensive parade-ground, studded with a few fine trees. The houses having extensive porticoes, and being adorned with flowers in large vases, have rather an elegant appearance, but this is in part dissipated on a nearer approach. They are usually enclosed with low walls, surmounted by iron railings, within which are small flower-gardens, that do not, however, display much taste.

The bridge which connects the two towns is by far the most attractive place in Singapore, for the constant passing and repassing across this thoroughfare makes it particularly amusing to a stranger. The consul's rooms were so situated as to command a free view of this moving panorama. The number of Asiatic nations that frequent Singapore is said to be twenty-four, consisting of Chinese, Hindoos, Malays, Jews, Armenians, Parsees, Bugists, besides Europeans. The variety of costume exhibited may therefore be easily imagined, and afforded opportunities for inquiry as well as amusement. The bridge was particularly thronged during the first day of our visit, for it was a holiday, both with the Chinese and Mohammedans of Hindostan.

The trades, as is usual in the East, are carried on in the streets; and carpenters, blacksmiths, tinnerns, butchers, bakers, tailors, barbers, crockery and opium sellers, and coffin-makers, are to be met in succession. Money-changers are to found here and there, and large well-supplied shops are not wanting, although their narrow and contracted fronts give no reason to anticipate their existence. That of Whampoa, our comprador, was one of the largest, and it gave a better idea of Noah's ark than of anything else, presenting a mixture of living animals, with everything that is required for the artificial wants of the shipping. In front were all the varieties of ship stores that China and Europe could furnish; and in the rear

were poultry, pigs, sheep, and pigeons, in pens and cages, with various parrots, cockatoos, and monkeys, while quantities of geese and ducks were accommodated beneath with pools of water. Between the live stock and the groceries were large quantities of vegetables and fruit, besides lots of bread, flour, and dough ready for the oven. The noise occasioned by the cackling, bellowing, crowing, and bleating, with the accumulation of filth, surprised as well as disgusted; for although it was reached at every tide by the water, yet there was ample necessity for the use of brooms and shovels. The Chinese, though cleanly in their persons, are far from being so in their general habits, if we may judge from those that I have met in the places we have visited.

On landing, that which impresses a stranger most strongly, is the great variety both of costume and of race. Almost every person that is encountered appears different from his predecessor, so that it is some time before it can be decided which nation predominates; but on reaching the old town this is no longer doubtful, for the Chinese are soon found to be the most numerous.

The variety of religious sects also soon becomes evident. All have their places of worship, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion, so that in passing around, the mosque of the Mohammedan, the temple of the Chinese, and the churches of various Christian sects, are met with in their turn.

The number of spoken languages is such as to recall the idea of Babel, and to excite a desire to learn the cause of such a collection of nations. This is partly to be found in the favourable commercial site of Singapore, but chiefly in the fact of its being a free port in every sense of the word. All are allowed to visit it without any question being asked; pirates of any nation may refit here, and no doubt frequently do, without any molestation, so long as they keep the peace.

I was much struck with the apparent absence of either police or military force; but after some inquiry, I was satisfied, by the order and general quiet of the multitude, that there must be a controlling power within reach, and found the policemen under the semblance of Persians, easily distinguishable by their neat and cleanly appearance. They are generally better dressed than the body of the inhabitants, and are to be known by their red and black sashes and turbaned heads. Without the precincts of the town, a regiment of Sepoys, six hundred strong, and officered by Europeans, is stationed. These are to be seen habited like English soldiers, in close-bodied red coats, than which a more inappropriate dress in such a climate as this can scarcely be imagined.

The island of Singapore is composed of red clay, sandstone, and, in some places, granite. The locality of the town appears to have been a salt marsh, with a narrow strip of rocks and sand near the beach. In consequence of its rapid increase, they are beginning now to fill up the low ground with the surplus earth taken from the surrounding hills.

The highest point of Singapore is called Buhit Tima, and does not exceed, it is said, five hundred feet in elevation. Although this

height is but seven miles distant from the town, I was told it has never yet been visited by a European, and seldom by natives, on account of the obstructed nature of the intervening country; there are a few small fishing or piratical establishments (the two names are synonymous here, for when the people are not engaged in the one they are in the other), on the north and west end of the island. The length of the island is twenty-seven miles, and its greatest breadth is fifteen. It is divided from the peninsula by the old strait of Singapore, so long followed by navigators, for reasons it is now difficult to surmise when the short, wide, and safe channel was open to them, which is now altogether used.

The botany of Singapore is far from being thoroughly known, notwithstanding so many scientific expeditions have visited it; nor is it likely to become so very soon, infested as the woods are with tigers. It is remarkable that before the island was inhabited, tigers did not exist in it, although there were great numbers of them in the peninsula opposite; and it is said that they have only made their appearance here within the last six or seven years. Indeed, one of the reasons assigned for its selection was the absence of this ferocious animal, and of the wild elephant. It is to be presumed, therefore, that the tigers come in search of food, by swimming over the narrow straits. Some fifty persons have been killed by them within the last two years, within two miles of the centre of the town, and two hundred in all are reported as having become victims to these beasts. Criminals and thieves were formerly in the habit of escaping to the woods or jungle, but of late years this has not been attempted by them.

The government, in consequence of the attacks of tigers becoming so frequent, and of the jungle being so much infested by them, offered a premium of one hundred dollars for every tiger's head that should be brought in. This induced large parties to hunt them; but since the government have reduced the reward to fifty dollars, this daring business has not been followed; not, however, from any scarcity of the animals, for they now frequently seize men working in the immediate vicinity, but because the sum is too small to be an equivalent for the risk and trouble.

The soil of the island is a stiff yellow loam, in which the nutmeg, coffee, black pepper, chocolate, and gamboge (*Garcina*), grow to a great extent. The three first appear to be particularly well adapted to the climate and soil. The cultivation of sugar is attended with success. Captain Scott is planting the durian, which, independently of its fruit, yields a timber highly valued for ship-building. This gentleman has left numerous forest-trees standing on his plantation, many of which are of large dimensions, being full one hundred feet in height. These consisted chiefly of species of *Quercus*, *Myrtaceæ*, *Melastomaceæ*, and *Rubiaceæ*. The undergrowth is almost impenetrable, on account of the vast number of creeping plants which intertwine and clasp around the trees. Two species of *Nepenthe* (pitcher-plants) were found in the swamp, which were preserved and brought to the United States.

Fruit seemed to be very abundant, and it is said that there are one hundred and twenty kinds that can be served as a dessert ; among these are pine-apples, mangosteens, melons, bananas, oranges, &c. The pine-apples are remarkably fine, and not in the least acid ; and to eat them is considered wholesome at all hours. The season for this fruit was just coming in at the time of our arrival, and large boat-loads were seen lying at the quay. They are usually planted along the roadside, and though, when small, rather stiff looking, yet, when full grown and in bearing, they are a pretty object. Of all the plants we saw, the nutmeg requires and receives the greatest care. The trees are planted in orchards, and while young have a sort of arbour erected over them, to protect them from the vertical rays of the sun.

The gambier (*Nauclea*) also claims much of the attention of the cultivator ; it is a low-sized tree, or bush, of no beauty. Its bark is used for tanning, and it is said to be the most powerful astringent known for this purpose. It is to be seen in the shops in the form of a powder, of a reddish-brown colour. We did not learn how this was prepared, or how it was used ; it appears, however, to be in great demand. It is occasionally used by the Chinese, with their betel-nut, of which there is a great consumption here, although it is not sold in the streets, as at Manilla ; but quantities of the nut are seen for sale in the market. From the leaves also a powerful astringent is obtained by boiling.

The gamboge tree is also cultivated here, but more extensively on the shores of the straits than at Singapore, and is a very considerable article of trade.

The ride outside of the town to the hills is pleasant, passing through plantations loaded with fruit, and the air at an early hour of the morning is filled with a spicy fragrance. The vivid green of the woods and grass is also remarkable, and continues throughout the whole year, for scarcely a day passes but a refreshing shower falls. The roads are thus kept free from dust, and at all times in good order. The usual mode of conveyance is in a palanquin, which is capable of containing two persons. The cooley, or Hindoo who attends his horse, usually runs by the side of the palanquin, and seldom tires. The charge for one of these conveyances is a dollar, whether for a whole or a part of the day, and a *douceur* is paid to the cooley according to the time he has been employed. The palanquin is a very convenient vehicle, and its use is absolutely necessary during the heat of the day, to shield the stranger from the burning rays of the sun. These cooleys will run all day through it without any inconvenience. They are principally from the neighbourhood of Madras, and are generally about the middle size, thin, and muscular.

We found, on our arrival, the whole of this motley population engaged in a festival. With the Chinese it was that of the New Year, and with the Hindoo Mussulman the feast called "Marama," or the search for the finding of the grandchildren of Mohammed. The Chinese, on such occasions, give themselves up entirely to gambling ; their quarter of the town might be considered

as a vast gambling-shop. During this holiday they are allowed to gamble as much as they please.

The extent to which gaming was carried by the Chinese could not fail to astonish any one who had not been brought up to it. It was extraordinary to see all engaged in such an exciting vice. Gaming was going on in every shop; under the colonnades, in the bazaars, and at the corner of almost every street, a variety of games were playing. Of several of these I had no knowledge; some were performed with cards, and others with dice. The stake seemed generally to be in small copper coin, called pice, about five hundred to the dollar, each of which is valued at three cowries; but although this was the usual betting coin, the stake was sometimes silver, and at times to a considerable amount. Those who have not seen the Chinese play, have never witnessed the spirit of gambling at its height; their whole soul is staked with their money, however small it may be in amount, and they appeared to go as earnestly to work as if it had been for the safety of their lives and fortunes.

Almost every one has formed to himself an idea of a Chinese; but to be well known, he requires to be seen on his own soil, or where he is in intercourse with his countrymen. The different individuals of this race seemed to us to have a strong resemblance to each other, and although this may in part be owing to similarity of dress, it is also due to their bodily conformation. The flat chest, in particular, is peculiar at least to the labouring classes. All of them seem active and attentive to their business, of whatever kind it may be, and as far as outward expression and action go, as harmless as lambs. It is somewhat remarkable, that the very sign which was put upon them by their Tartar conquerors to mark them as a subdued race, should now have become their national boast; for nothing seems to claim a Chinaman's attention so much as his long queue, and the longer and blacker it is the more it appears to claim his admiration. We frequently saw it touching the very heels, and tied at the end neatly with a bit of ribbon. On great occasions this hangs down to its full length; but at other times, being somewhat in the way, it is wound up on the back of the head. I have heard it asserted, that the Chinese never become bald or gray; but this opinion seemed to be erroneous, from what I saw in this small community.

The Chinese is at all times to be found industriously employed, except when gambling; and were it not for this latter propensity, and his desire of cheating foreigners, has probably as few vices as exist in any other race. Wherever he is found, peace and quietness seem to dwell; he moves, and has been moving for ages in the same path, and prefers all his own ways to those of the rest of the world. We saw the Chinese in some pleasing lights, and were much struck, on these festival occasions, by their attention towards their children, and the fondness and invariable kindness with which they were treated.

Before ceasing to speak of the Chinese, I shall give a brief description of their mode of celebrating the New Year, although it was difficult to follow it, and still more so to understand its full meaning.



The ceremonies consisted chiefly of processions, both by night and day, in which the whole Chinese population seemed to be engaged. The grand one bore a sort of silken temple, which was carried on the shoulders of several men, with banners before and behind it, having Chinese characters on them, and of the most gaudy colours. These were preceded by music, if such it could be called, consisting of cymbals and gongs, on which every performer strove to strike with his utmost force, and if possible oftener than his neighbour. Noise they at least created in perfection. This procession was occasionally joined by smaller ones, and the whole seemed to afford both to the crowd and actors as much amusement as it did to us, to whom it was altogether new. During the night, and particularly on that of the 21st of February, the last day of their year, the illuminated processions were curious, as well as amusing, and were exceedingly numerous. Some of them were to be seen in every street at the same time, and no sooner had one passed than others were seen to follow, all hurrying along as if there were some goal to be reached. The illumination proceeded from lanterns of all colours, sizes, and shapes. We saw also the procession of juvenile horsemen, consisting altogether of children. Each of them bore the fore and hind parts of a horse in such a manner that the child represented the rider. These mimic portions of the quadruped were made of paper and illuminated. The effect was that of a miniature regiment of cavalry. Others were represented as if on the backs of fish, that seemed to swim along in the crowd. Some of the children were not more than two years of age, and the oldest not more than five or six. They were all fantastically dressed, and some among them in European costume, which had a grotesque effect among the more appropriate dresses of the East. They were led about, preceded by music, such as it was, of gongs and cymbals: and all passed by on a dog-trot. Towards the close of the evening, some of the children had attendants on each side, who carried the poor little fatigued creatures along, many of whom were nearly, if not quite, asleep. Whenever this procession halted, the Chinese would load them with cakes and dulces, and showed a kindness and attention truly pleasing. The most extraordinary exhibition of the evening was an immense illuminated sea-serpent, which we all thought fully equalled, in size and movement, the famous New England one, and agreed in other respects tolerably well with its description, for he had at intervals large bumps of the shape of a small cask. These were in fact lanterns, supported by poles, and connected together by white cotton or gauze, which was here and there coloured. The head of the monster was of large dimensions, with a wide-extended mouth, showing its fiery tongue and rows of sharp teeth. The movements of the serpent were well managed, and its gyrations, twistings, and windings over the people's heads gave it a formidable look. It appeared as if in search of an illuminated globe, representing the old year, as the serpent is supposed to typify the new one. It was, from time to time, permitted almost to seize the globe, which was then hurried away, upon which the ponderous jaws would come together with a crash, and then the

serpent would hurry onward again in hot pursuit. I was told that it swallowed the globe at the expiration of the year, but I did not see the finale. The figure of this serpent was from eighty to one hundred feet in length, and two feet in diameter.

During this closing scene of the festival, all the Chinese houses were open, and the josh-houses and idols illuminated with wax candles, and decked with flowers and tinsel.

Theatrical exhibitions were at the same time going forward in many places; open sheds are erected for this purpose, where the exhibition was entirely gratuitous. The actors, I was told, are paid by a general subscription, which also provides for the other expenses of the spectacle. These sheds are closed on three sides, but open on that which faces the street. The stage is raised about six feet above the street; the whole is richly decorated with silk hangings, and banners with many inscriptions, and illuminated with coloured lamps. The stage, which was by no means of large size, was occupied by a table and two chairs. The dialogue was in a kind of recitative, with an accompaniment performed by beating with two small sticks on the bottom of a copper kettle of the shape of a coffee-pot. The person who performed this duty appeared to direct all the spectacle, as prompter and leader of the orchestra. The other musical instruments were the gong, cymbals, and a kind of hautboy, the holes of which are not arranged with any view to produce harmonious sounds. The dresses of the actors were very rich, and the females were represented by young men or boys. The male characters were for the most part masked, but not the female; the former generally had long black and white beards. The principal part seemed to consist in attitudinising, and appeared to interest the audience, as it did us, although according to our ideas it was not suited to the words or sentiments; for instance, during a pathetic part, whilst the actor was shedding tears, he would suddenly throw up one leg, and almost kick himself on the nose! The acting, upon the whole, was, to our notions, in a mock-heroic style; but this might have arisen from our not being able to comprehend the meaning, for the other spectators seemed greatly interested. There was something, however, which there was no difficulty in our understanding, and this was the fighting. The two combatants draw their swords or handle their spears, and begin turning round, poking at each other without closing, when suddenly one runs off; the other, after having evidently informed the audience that he is the victor, then makes his exit, accompanied with a most tremendous noise from both the music and audience. After the performance had closed, it was with difficulty that I could determine whether it had been comedy or tragedy; whichever it was, it was mingled with still vaulting somersets, cart-wheel motions, and casting themselves about, indifferent as to what part they fell on, in modes which I may truly say, I had never seen surpassed, either in muscular action or agility.

The convicts sent to Singapore are employed upon the public works; and a large prison in the suburbs of Singapore is provided for their safe-keeping at night, or when not at work. I was not

able to ascertain their exact number, but I believe it amounts to some fifteen hundred.

The market was well filled with venders, so much so, indeed, that the passages through it are rendered narrow and tortuous; the principal article for sale was fish, fresh and dried, and prawns. This kind of fish is numerous and abundant. The part of the market where they are sold is built over the water, and being furnished with a loose flooring, the filth is easily got rid of. The butcher-meats consisted for the most part of pork, which is raised in large quantities. Fowls and ducks were also very numerous. A number of eggs were seen with the shell broken, to exhibit the dead chicken, and others that were rotten, in which state they were favourite food of the Chinese. Vegetables and dried fruits were also in great abundance; these latter were imported from China. Of vegetables there were lettuces, onions, garlic, sweet potatoes, and large quantities of germinating rice, which is sold for planting. Of the quantities of fresh fruit it is almost impossible to give an adequate idea, and they are all of fine kinds.

The bazaars form the general resort of those who frequent the market. Every avenue, arcade, or veranda approaching it is filled with money-changers and smallware dealers, eager for selling European goods, Chinese toys, and many other attractive curiosities. It is necessary to be careful in making even the smallest offer, for although it may be but half or a fourth of what is asked, it is instantly accepted. The money-changers seem to be a peculiar class; they are much darker in colour than the rest of this singular throng, and are seen sitting cross-legged on their tables, with extensive rouleaux of copper coin, heaps of cowrie-shells, and some silver.

The Malay population dwell chiefly in the suburbs, or what are termed the Malay villages. The Malays seem to bear the palm for idleness among the common people, and are rarely found engaged in any steady employment, preferring those that are either light or of a roving character. They engross the occupation of the drivers of palanquins, are strong and active, and will run a great length of time and distance, in a hot and oppressive day, seemingly without inconvenience. Those of the latter sort who are more wealthy, indulge in many luxuries, particularly in dress. They usually wear mustaches, which are always neatly kept, and occupy no small portion of their attendance and time; and, contrasted with the white turban, with its band of scarlet and gold, has a particular pleasing effect, with their swarthy skins. On holidays they are to be met with in their snow-white raiment, thrown over a richly-embroidered coloured vest, fitting tight to the body, with loose trousers, tied just to meet their embroidered slippers at the ankle.

The most distinguished men as to looks are the Armenians. Although few in number, yet they have much influence from their wealth; they are an exceedingly handsome race, dress after the English fashion, and generally speak English or the Portuguese fluently. Some of them, that I had occasion to visit, were extremely courteous, but spoke of the inhabitants of Singapore generally as of

a low class. The Armenian church is one of the finest buildings in the place.

Parsees are not numerous at Singapore, but they rank among the most wealthy of its inhabitants. They are dressed partly after the Eastern and partly after the European fashion. They excited our attention as being worshippers of fire, which they venerate as emblematical of the Deity. They are of various shades of colour, and generally more robust and portly than the other races. Many of them speak the English language.

Arabs from the east coast of Africa were also pointed out to me, and individuals of the Caffre tribe were also met with.

One of the most amusing incidents that occurred during our stay at Singapore, was a visit to a ship of the king of Cochin-China, which we made by express invitation. The whole trade of Cochin-China is a monopoly in the hands of the king who owns the ships, which likewise compose part of his navy. They are built after the European model of some half a century back. The vessel that furnished it belonged to France, and was wrecked on their coast many years ago, after which missionaries and artisans were sent out by Louis XVI, who taught them many of the arts of Europe.

These vessels have a middle deck, which is pierced for guns. The cabin into which we were shown, had a josh-temple, and with josh-sticks burning. There were two cabins; that under the poop had small rooms, and was very low between decks. There were no fixtures, but simply a mat to lie on. The binnacle is a bed of sand, in which the compass-box is set for security; and a number of small, coloured sticks were stuck into the sand, which were represented to be markers, by which the way of the vessel was noted. A manuscript chart, which the captain took great pride in, was shown us. This was evidently a copy of an English one, but all the names were in Chinese. The crew had a decided Malay look, and were small men; they are in form stout, but not athletic. There did not appear to be any mixture of races among them. As we passed around the deck, we observed a party of five or six of the men engaged in gambling with cards, in which they were so much engrossed, that they heeded not the command of their officers to desist and make room for us. This vessel was furnished with rattan cables, which were exceedingly well made. The wheel for steering appeared odd, on account of its small size, and the helmsman sits when he takes his trick. On either side of the deck, just abaft the foremast, there is a cook-house, formed of a huge box of earth, about three feet above the deck, in which a few large stones are set to support their earthen cooking vessels.

The officers and men have but a small pittance of pay. The captain, for instance, I was told, received only three dollars a month. A supercargo or factor is appointed for each voyage, and is obligated to do all the business for his master, and take charge of the whole commercial enterprise without receiving any of the profits for the success of the undertaking; he is also held to be responsible, and his property is accountable likewise for any depreciation in the foreign market; and if any suspicions fall upon him of mismanage-

ment, he is sure of the bastinado on his return. The consequence is, that the king of Cochin-China is a successful merchant, grows rich on his commercial speculations, and is always well served. The recompense of the factor is but a small quantity of rice.

Four or five of his ships resort annually to Singapore, loaded with sugar, coffee, ivory, and many other articles of less importance, in return for which they take British and India goods, fire-arms, iron, glass-ware, &c. I have been informed that his success in trade has been such that out of its profits within a year he has added a steamer of six hundred tons to his navy.

Almost every one has some idea of the external form of a Chinese junk ; but the arrangement of the interior, although of great antiquity, was new to us all. From the appearance of everything on board, the arrangements cannot have changed much in the lapse of many centuries. The junks are of various sizes : the three that we visited were from seventy-five to eighty feet in length, about twenty-two feet beam, and about eighteen feet high forward, descending in a curve to within three or four feet of the water amidships, and then again rising in a like curve to the height of twenty-five feet. At the top of the stern is the poop-cabin, with accommodations for the master, his clerk, and the trader, in four small sleeping-rooms ; under these are other cabins, with an eating apartment, and before this is a platform or small deck, from which the vessel is steered. The rudder is an extraordinary piece of wood, fully equal, in point of size, to that of a line-of-battle ship. While in port it is always unshipped, and drawn into the vessel on a small inclined slip or way. The junks have usually two large masts, with a jigger, and there are no less than three windlasses, which are used upon every occasion ; without these the junks would really be almost unmanageable. In order to preserve the vessel dry, they have waistboards of solid thick plank, which are unshipped in port; these reach from the plank-sheer to the rail, and from appearances effectually answer the purpose for which they are intended. The cargo, however, was more interesting to us than the vessel : this consisted chiefly of teas and china-ware ; the latter, to our surprise, we found neatly and carefully stowed in bulk in the hold. The lighter articles of Chinese manufacture are arranged about the vessel, and even hang over the poop and sides. The wooden anchors, cables, grass ropes, odd and curious paintings, the grotesque mode of external ornament, with the large eye on either bow in the colours of the rainbow, did not fail to attract our attention. We were also amused with the junk-like form of the tiny boat, but these, as well as the Chinamen themselves, are so well represented in Chinese pictures, that no one can be at a loss to conceive their peculiar form. Words fail to express the content and pride with which the Chinaman sits and enjoys his aquatic excursions ; and though ridiculous in appearance, and ill-fitted in every way to contend with the elements, yet there is something about the junks that commands a certain degree of respect.

The trade of Singapore, although it has but lately grown up, has nevertheless reached the large aggregate of 24,500,000 dollars.

About one-sixth of this amount goes to Great Britain, and 600,000 dollars to continental Europe. There are no duties on imports or exports, and every vessel is left free to come and go as they please; all that is asked is of what the cargo consists, its value, and the size of the vessel. These particulars are published weekly in the only paper. Everything is sold for cash, or on a very short credit, and all accounts are kept in dollars and cents. Perhaps in no other port is business conducted in so prompt a manner as at Singapore, and this has probably grown out of the transient character of the visitors of all nations, who come and go as they please, which makes it necessary to receive payment for the goods as soon as they are delivered.

From what has been already said, it will appear that very little of the importance of Singapore is owing to its own productions; yet there are many things shipped here that are the product of the Straits, or of the territory under the Straits Government, as it is called. Among these are pepper, cloves, sugar, nutmegs, coffee, and gambier, to which may be added the betel-nut. These products are procured from Pinang and Prince of Wales Island, and reach a large amount. Tortoise-shell may also be included in this trade, for almost all that is taken in the Eastern seas is now brought to Singapore for sale; and it may indeed be said to be the chief mart of that article. Any attempt to give a catalogue of the trade of Singapore would fall short of the truth, for it may be considered as an entrepôt where all articles arrive and are distributed. The expenses of doing business are established and published in the gazettes, so that any one may inform himself of the charges he is liable to incur, and of the advantages it has in that respect over the other ports in the Eastern seas. What renders the traffic at Singapore still more convenient is, that almost everything is sold by weight, probably because so large a proportion of the population is from China, in which country this method is habitual. In employing it, however, the articles from different countries are sold by the weight of the country whence they come. For instance, gold-dust being for the most part brought by the Malays, is sold by their weight, called a "bungkal," which is about equal to two ounces; rice, &c., the produce of Bengal, is sold by the bag, containing one hundred and sixty pounds, which is termed a "maund." The foreign business is generally in the hands of a few English houses, but the greater part of the mercantile class at Singapore are engaged as agents, or do a commission business, for various houses in Europe, Calcutta, &c.

Borneo probably furnishes the most valuable products that are brought to Singapore, and there are more than one hundred prahus engaged in the trade. These are for the most part navigated by Bugis from the island of Celebes, who may be termed the carriers of this archipelago. This people frequent all the ports on the south and south-west side of that great island, and are frequently employed by the rajahs or chiefs to conduct their trade with the other ports. The restrictions they are under in visiting the Dutch possessions, and the restrictive policy of the latter, which admits

them to but one or two ports, has driven them to seek that of Singapore, though more distant. These prahus are said when trade or employment fails, to turn their attention to piracy, if a favourable opportunity should offer; though no one seems disposed to class them as pirates of the same character as the Malays, but rather to look upon them as generally inclined to be peaceable.

The island of Celebes sends to Singapore nearly a hundred prahus annually, and they also come from Flores, Timor, Amboyna, Sumbawa, Lubok, and even from Papua and Aroo. From the latter countries they bring the bird of Paradise so abundant in the market of Singapore.

With the ports of Sumatra and Java there is a great deal of intercourse; the native vessels engaged in it amount to some six hundred. These are of various sizes, and keep up a constant intercourse, some of them visiting the ports several times during the year. These arrive from both coasts of Sumatra, and belong to the rajahs or chiefs of small places, of which even the names are little known, and whose subjects are mostly engaged in piracy. The island of Bali likewise engages in this trade, through the agency of the Bugis. The products of the Malayan peninsula, and of all the ports of the Malacca Straits, are also brought to Singapore.

The most regular of all the trade is that with the islands of Rhio and Lingin, in the neighbourhood of which the Dutch have a factory. This trade is carried on in the sampan boats, and the people of these places prefer resorting to this free port to dispose of their produce, rather than sell it to the Dutch. The articles brought from all these places consist of pepper, rice, camphor, sago, coffee, nutmegs, oil, tobacco, wax, benzoin, sea-weed, dragon's-blood, biche-de-mar, birds'-nests, tortoise-shell, diamonds, gold-dust, pearls, the pearl-oyster shell, sandal-wood, rattans, ivory, some hides, and articles of native manufacture, such as sarongs (worn as a wrapper, which come principally from Celebes), salendongs, and lacquered ware.

The opium shops are among the most extraordinary sights in Singapore; it is inconceivable with what avidity the smokers seek this noxious drug at the shop windows. They then retire to the interior, where a number of sickly-looking persons, in the last stage of consumption, haggard, and worn down with care, are seen smoking. The drug is sold in very small pieces, and for ten cents enough to fill a pipe once is obtained. With it are furnished a pipe, a lamp, and a couch to lie on, if such it may be called. The pipe is of a peculiar construction, and is in part of metal, having an interior or cup just large enough to contain a piece the size of a pea. The opium is difficult to ignite, and it requires much management in the smoker to obtain the necessary number of whiffs to produce intoxication in one habituated to its use. The couch is sometimes a rude bench, but more often a mat on the floor, with a small raised bench; and, in the frequented shops, generally occupied by a pair of smokers who have a lamp between them.

It was not difficult even for a stranger to distinguish those who have long indulged in this pernicious practice, from those to whom

it is yet new. The eagerness with which the former sought the mat, seized the pipe, and inhaled the smoke, showed a nervous anxiety to reach that point where forgetfulness should come. This in the novitiate was but the work of a few minutes, while those whose organs had become accustomed would draw long whiffs and puff away until the weakened state of their lungs would betray them, and cause them to stop to renew their breath before they were enabled to accomplish their wishes. I learned that many of the old smokers found so great a difficulty in inducing the action of the smoke, that they were accustomed to have recourse to swallowing the drug itself. The Chinese alone are addicted to this practice; the Gentoos and those of the Moslem faith look upon it with great horror and disgust.

The individuals whom I have described above are the wealthy, who can afford to smoke the drug as it is found in commerce. From the difficulty with which it burns, there is a large residuum left, which is carefully taken out of the pipes and sold to the less opulent, who in like manner smoke it, though without the luxury of mats and lamps. I was told that there is still a poorer class of Chinese, that again use the residuum of this second smoking.

The Chinese at Singapore possess every facility for full gratification in the smoking of this deleterious drug; for there is no interdiction to its introduction, and most, if not all the vessels engaged in smuggling it, resort there in their passages to and from Bengal, and many of them are owned or under the agency of the merchants of this place.

The population, from the most authentic returns, is in all about sixty thousand souls; of these forty-five thousand are Chinese, eight thousand Malays, seven thousand natives of India, and about one hundred and fifty foreigners; and only *one-tenth* of the whole are females.

On my arrival at Singapore, various reports were made to me of defects existing in the tender Flying-Fish. It was to be expected, after the arduous service she had performed; yet, having brought her safely thus far, I felt a natural desire to carry her home with us. But the idea of risking the lives of her officers and crew, after the disaster that had already befallen her sister craft, was not to be endured; and I saw that it was necessary to have a thorough examination of her before I ventured her in the homeward voyage. I therefore ordered a survey by the most experienced persons in the squadron, who, although they could not point out any conspicuous defects, were satisfied that from long and hard service she had become weakened in her frame, and that she would not only need much time, but a large expense, to place her in a fit condition to make the voyage home. I must say that even after I had received the report I still felt a strong inclination to persist in bringing her back to the United States; but my final decision was against it. The consul was therefore desired to advertise her for sale, and in the mean time all her stores and armament were removed.

She was, agreeably to notice, sold at public sale for three thousand seven hundred dollars. To part with this vessel was unpleasant on



many accounts ; for she had been daily, for nearly four years, my first and last thought. The attachment I had felt for her was great ; the efficient aid she had afforded in the performance of my duties, caused me to value her highly ; and as a vessel of her class, she was almost faultless.

By the 25th of February, we had completed filling our water, and having obtained all the stores needed, we made preparation for sailing.

At five o'clock on the morning of the 26th, I took advantage of the land-breeze, and we got under way.



## CHAPTER XX.

## CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Departure from Singapore—Straits of Rhio—Straits of Banca—Straits of Sunda—Indian Ocean—Death of Mr. Vanderford—Vendovi's Grief—Arrival in Table Bay—Cape Town—Government of the Colony—Taxes—Banking—Import Trade—Hottentots—Caffre Tribes—Visit to Constantia—Astronomy and Magnetic Observations—Ascent of Table Mountain—Green Point—Light-House—Exchange—Garden of the Baron von Ludwig—Tenures of Land—Departure from Table Bay—Voyage to St. Helena—Jamestown—Visit to the Tomb of Napoleon and Longwood—Magnetic Observatory—Plantation-House—Departure from St. Helena—Passage to the United States—Arrival at New York—Conclusion.

**A**FTER leaving Singapore, we passed through the Straits of Rhio, a route which I deemed the shortest and best for vessels bound through the Straits of Sunda. At night we anchored, wishing to examine more particularly the charts extant, and to make what corrections I might deem necessary.

The next morning, at daylight, we resumed our route, but in consequence of fog, were obliged to anchor off the Dutch factory at Rhio, where a fort is established. This was first occupied in 1824, after the cession of Malacca.

We passed the east point of Lintin on the 28th, on our way to the Straits of Banca.

The 1st of March we approached the northern entrance of the Straits of Banca. Soon afterwards we saw the Dutch establishment of Mintow; it is situated on a knoll, at the northern end of Banca, and had the Dutch flag flying over it. The greater part of Banca is low land; the northern end particularly so. There are, however, a few detached hills, of considerable altitude, which serve as sailing-marks during the passage through the Straits. The southern end of the island rises, and appears to be of a different formation from the other parts, as its soil is thickly wooded. In the forest were seen numerous clearings, where people had been, and were then burning charcoal, to obtain fuel for smelting the tin ores. The principal mining district lies towards the southern end of the island, in the swampy flat land at the foot of the isolated hills before mentioned. The ore is usually found at the depth of from six to twenty feet from the surface, in layers that run horizontally for two or three miles; these vary in thickness from six to twenty inches, and consist of heavy, granulated particles, of a dark metallic lustre, mixed with white sand. The strata above the vein consist of vegetable mould, red and white clay, intermixed with pebbles of white quartz, and white sand, like that which is found with the

metal. A stratum of steatite is said to be found underlying these ores of tin.

The process of working these mines is exceedingly rude ; both Malays and Chinese are employed in them, but the latter are preferred on account of their greater perseverance and industry. I was told at Singapore that the amount of tin derived from Banca by the Dutch was not half so great as that obtained while it was under British management, or that it is still capable of yielding. The ore is washed after its removal from the veins, which separates the earth, and leaves only the metal and stones ; the last are separated by hand, and the metal is then smelted : to effect this, huge piles of alternate layers of ore and charcoal are formed ; the fused metal escapes into a hole dug in the ground, from which it is dipped, and poured into moulds, forming, when cool, the tin of commerce. Tin ore is found at Banca in great quantities, but its quality is inferior to that obtained from other places ; and it rarely yields more than sixty per cent. of pure metal. The process of smelting is but seldom performed, generally not oftener than once or twice a year. Rude bellows, of various forms, are used in kindling the smelting fires ; some of these are composed of large wooden cylinders, with moving pistons, which give a strong continuous blast ; others are nothing more than a bamboo tube, through which the breath is forced upon the flame. The processes for working the mines and extracting the metal from the ore are similar in all the mining districts, and differ but little from those employed when the mines were first opened.

The Sumatra shore of the Straits of Banca is low, and appears to be covered with a dense forest.

On the 4th of March we arrived off Hout's Island, at the entrance of the Straits of Sunda. We afterwards passed round Zutphen's Island and Hog Point, anchoring for the night off Rajah Bassa.

On the morning of the 6th, with a light wind from the eastward, we stood into the Indian Ocean, between the islands of Pulo Bessy and Crokatoa ; the day was a delightful one, and being Sunday, when no unessential duty was performed, there was leisure to enjoy it. On the morning of the 7th we found ourselves fairly launched on the blue waters of the ocean, pursuing rapidly our homeward course.

On the 23rd, Benjamin Vanderford, master's mate, died. His death produced a great impression upon Vendovi, for Mr. Vanderford was the only person with whom that chief could converse, and a sort of attachment had sprung up between them, arising from the officer's long residence with Tanoa at Ambau, and his familiarity with the manners and customs of the Feejee Islands. Besides, Vendovi looked forward to his becoming a protector on their arrival in the United States. While conversing with Mr. Vanderford, some time before his death, he expressed his willingness to take charge of Vendovi, and to befriend him on our arrival at home ; for although the Feejeeans had despoiled him of all his property, they had, nevertheless, saved his life ; and for that, or rather for refraining from devouring him, he felt some gratitude, and would have shown it to Vendovi.

Poor Vendovi could not be persuaded to look at his friend's corpse ; his spirits evidently flagged ; a marked change came over him ; and he no doubt felt as though he had lost his only friend. His own disease, henceforward, made rapid strides towards a fatal termination, and he showed that such was the case by his total disregard of everything that passed around him, as well as by his moping, melancholy look. On the 24th, the remains of Mr. Vanderford were committed to the deep, with the usual service and honours.

On the 12th of April, we arrived off False Bay.

On the 13th, no observations could be obtained on account of the fog and mist ; and our situation became rather a perplexing one. Towards evening it cleared up, and our situation was obtained by bearings, which placed us off Snake's Head, about twelve miles to the southward and westward of the Lion's Head. The next morning we fell in with a fleet of small fishing-boats lying at anchor. Their crews were catching a species of bass, as fast as they could haul in their lines. Immense numbers of birds, such as albatrosses, petrels, and gulls, surrounded the boats, and were feeding on the small fish and offal thrown overboard from them. The fish caught here are salted, and being afterwards dried, furnish no inconsiderable portion of the food of the lower orders of the colony. One of the fishermen was desired to come on board ; and after he had satisfied me that some reliance might be placed in him as a pilot, he was retained with us. Under his guidance we stood on, and as the fog began to break away, reached our anchorage, having passed close to the lighthouse and Green Point, the western point of Table Bay. The captain of the port, Commander Bance, R.N., boarded us soon after we had anchored. I was glad to see this gentleman, to whom I felt under obligations for civilities and kindness shown me some years previously, during a cruise off the coast of Peru.

An officer was dispatched to report our arrival to Sir George Thomas Napier, governor of the colony.

The falling of the ball at the Royal Observatory afforded us an opportunity for comparing the time as shown by our chronometers with that of the Cape. Of this we took advantage, and found that our time-keepers had performed well.

The view of Cape Town and its vicinity from the anchorage, is remarkable, and the whole seems novel. Directly in its rear rise the perpendicular sides of Table Mountain, while on either hand are seen the crags of the Lion's Head and Devil's Peak ; the former usually overhung by a large cloud, which often covers the whole town with its broad shadow. These mountains are composed of a dark reddish-gray sandstone, and excepting immediately at their base, and close to the rear of the town, show but little signs of vegetation. Here and there pretty straw-coloured cottages are scattered among the foliage. Two quays extend from the beach into the bay, affording facility to lighters to discharge and take in their cargoes at all times of the tide.

The town itself shows many traces of its original occupants. The houses, with their prim little stoops, porches, and gables to the street, reminded me strongly of those built by the early settlers of

New York and Albany. But few of the streets have any side-walks, and many of them are not paved at all, causing them, in consequence of the arid climate, to be ankle deep in dust. Nine-tenths of the inhabitants still retain a Dutch look, and many of them are unable to speak any other than their original language, while to a large number of them the epithet "boors," so commonly bestowed, is quite applicable. The town is laid out with regularity, many of the streets crossing each other at right angles, and some are of respectable width. Rows of oak, poplar, and pine-trees line the sides of the principal avenues. Many contain shops, which are well supplied with the usual varieties of European goods. Roses and vines are cultivated in front of the houses, and their blossoms and fruit, although within reach of all, are respected. The houses are painted of various colours, without any regard to taste, and are of a clean, though antiquated appearance. No two of them are alike, yet their styles are so marked, that the country whence their builders came may be judged with tolerable certainty from each. Badly-painted signs are as numerous as in our own country, and vane, pointing in every direction, surmount the gables. The Dutch costume still prevails among the inhabitants, and afforded us much amusement. In the schools the Dutch language is still taught; though in many the English is a branch of education. Considering the number of years that this colony has been under the British dominion, it surprised me to find that a knowledge of the Dutch was much more necessary than that of English, while dealing with the inhabitants.

The Cape of Good Hope was originally settled by the Dutch in 1652; captured by the British in 1795; restored again after the peace of Amiens, in 1802; again taken possession of in 1806; and finally ceded to Great Britain in 1815. During its occupation as a Dutch colony, it had twenty-eight governors, and since it has been under British rule it has had eighteen. By this it will be perceived that the changes in its administration have been frequent, and, what might naturally be expected to follow, the policy and character of its governors have been vacillating. It has been generally ruled very much after the ideas of those who presided for the time being. The government is nominally vested in the governor, and an executive and legislative council, who are all appointed by the crown, or with its approbation and consent.

Under this system of government it has been the misfortune of the Cape colony to be placed; and the advantages it has possessed under some, have been counterbalanced by others, and not unfrequently the salutary regulations made by one, have, without any apparent reason, in the minds of the colonists, been annulled or set aside by others; which, of course, has tended to foment discord, and produce a feeling of opposition to British rule; this has prevented the advancement of the colony, and retarded its usefulness, by giving license to crime that otherwise would not have existed.

Of late years, however, although the government still remains the same, yet they have been more fortunate in the individuals who have presided over it. In regarding the British colonial system, it

appears remarkable that the British nation, generally so mindful of political rights, should place it in the power of distant governors to rule their colonists with almost despotic sway, and their growth and rise to be at the option of any one individual, who may arbitrarily crush or paralyse the efforts of industry and the development of resources. Many of the inhabitants of the Cape complain of this polity, but look forward to the adoption, in the course of time, of an elective legislative body, which will give them some share in the government, and prevent not only misrule, but undue taxation and a misapplication of its funds in the various improvements which government may authorise.

The executive council consists of seven members, including the governor, who is the presiding officer; and the legislative council of thirteen, composed of the members of the executive council and five additional unofficials, who are themselves residents of the colony, named by the governor, and appointed by the crown.

The same kind of government may be said to exist now as in New South Wales, of which I have had occasion to speak when treating of that colony; and it is thought to be equally inefficient, and to require reform.

On the morning after my arrival I called on his excellency the governor, at the government-house, where I had the honour of an introduction to Sir George Napier. His reception was kind and frank. With him I passed a pleasant half hour. Sir George is one of the heroes of the Peninsular War, and bears the marks of his activity in those well-contested conflicts, in the loss of an arm. He showed me over the apartments, which, however, are not now occupied, as he was living at his country-seat. They appear convenient, and afford from the windows a view of the government demesne, which is quite pretty, planted as it is with fine old oaks; part of it is kept as a public walk, which the citizens frequent on holidays in large numbers. The Cape station has never been a popular one, from the want of society; but of late years very many persons from India have made it a resort for the recovery of their health, and in a measure supplied the deficiency in this respect. The offices for the transaction of government business are in the immediate neighbourhood of the government-house, and within the precincts is also a college for the education of the youths of the colony; it has several professors, but I understood all those who desire to have their children well educated send them to England.

The barracks are extensive, and well built, and have a large area in front as a parade-ground. There are several other buildings going up, for the accommodation of the troops, and hospitals for the sick, all handsome and well situated. I regret to say that as much cannot be said for the town prison, nor for the buildings appropriated to the police department, custom-house, and harbour-master's department: all these bear the marks of what Cape Town was, and stand in strong contrast to the modern improvements.

The town is now divided into twelve districts, and each district into four wards, over each of which there is a commissioner, and four ward-masters, chosen by the people. The first form the upper

board, and the last the lower, and each have a chairman and deputy chairman, who, among other duties, act as appraisers of property, on which the taxes are assessed equal to three-quarter pence in the pound. By the statistical tables published, it appears that the valuation of property of Cape Town reaches the sum of one million six hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds.

The municipal regulations now seem to be excellent, and are more or less under military control. The police has been organised on the plan of the police of London, and its efficiency is highly spoken of. From all the information I could gather, crime has very much decreased in both the Cape district and colony. The statistics of crime show but few cases. The quarterly sitting of the grand jury took place during our visit, and there were but six presentments, viz.: one for culpable homicide, two assaults with intent to harm, one robbery, one theft, or receiving stolen goods, and one fraudulent insolvency; and this within a district containing fifty thousand inhabitants.

There are great complaints about the administration of the laws of the colony: the English system now prevails so far as to allow counsel to the criminal. The trial by jury is established; seven of the twelve must be present, and it requires a majority of these only to convict; if more than seven are present, and the jury are divided equally, the prisoner is acquitted. The Dutch criminal code formerly in force has been modified by the English, so far as respects some punishments; torture, for instance, has been done away with. The crimes of murder, high treason, counterfeiting, and rape, are punished with death; thefts of large amount, assault, robbery, and the like, are punished by transportation; while, for other and minor crimes, the prisoners are employed as convicts on Robben's Island, working in the quarries; for less offences, flogging and imprisonment are inflicted.

On the other hand, the English civil law has been modified by that of the Dutch; this has increased litigation, in consequence of the absurd manner in which boundaries were formerly laid off; such, for instance, as estimating by the distance a man could walk in an hour, or canter with his horse.

Another source of complaint, which amused me not a little, was the administration of justice by a supreme court, over which a chief justice and two puisne judges preside; two of these are English, while the third is a Scotchman; the consequence is, the English judges administer the law after the English code, while the Scotch judge follows that of Scotland, which often renders the decision diametrically opposite; and it is impossible for the advocate or client to know by what judge or law his case is to be tried. It was said, I know not with what truth, that high connections have been considered more suitable qualifications for the office than legal knowledge. The salaries do not exceed fifteen hundred and two thousand pounds annually.

There are in the Cape colony eight districts. Each of these is governed by a commissioner or civil magistrate, who is assisted by justices of the peace. These districts are again subdivided into veld

cornetries. The cornetries are governed by a petty magistrate, who is called a veld cornet. These extend over a distance of about twenty miles, and under him is organised the militia force, in case it should be called out. It is the duty of the latter to meet the requisitions of the higher government officers for supplies, &c. There is little liberty allowed the inhabitants of the districts, who are restricted from all acts that might in any way tend to give expression to their sentiments; not even are they allowed to hold a public meeting, and all kinds of prosecutions are referred to the capital for final decision. At the Cape they have a vice-admiralty court for the trial of offences on the high seas. The commissioner of the district and others holding office, are appointed under the great seal, who are each empowered to grant licenses of marriage, and do other civil acts, and have associated with them the justices of peace, as well as the veld cornets.

The taxes are represented as being onerous; there is, for instance, a capitation tax of six shillings annually, on all free males and females, above the age of sixteen. Those in the employ of the government are exempt, as well as the servants attendant on them. Horses and carriages of all kinds are taxed from two to four pounds. There is a tax on all incomes exceeding thirty pounds, of two per cent.; in addition to these are the stamp duties, water taxes, house taxes, auction duties, market duties, tithes on wine and grain, in short, on everything that is sold; all papers executed, transfers of property, promissory notes, bonds, and licences of all kinds; indeed, it would be difficult to mention anything exempted from the all-pervading taxation which here prevails. On inquiring the cost of articles, it is invariably to account for the price, by adding that the article is taxed. The people are even taxed for permission to leave the colony; and I was told it was necessary to pay a tax to take a bath.

The whole revenue raised amounts to £130,000, and the expenditures do not exceed £125,000.

In order to lessen the weight of the taxation, it was in agitation at the time of our visit to increase the duties on imports, which are about three per cent. ad valorem, on English articles, and ten per cent. on foreign goods.

The circulation is a paper one of the denomination of rix-dollars, valued at one shilling and sixpence. There are no notes less than twelve rix-dollars, equal to a pound. The monetary concerns of the colony have undergone many vicissitudes, and numerous experiments have been made, all tending to produce a want of confidence. Government, until within a few years, had the entire control of the discount banks, and through them possessed a full knowledge of the affairs of men in business, and it is said did not fail to use it in an arbitrary manner, producing revulsions in the monetary affairs of the colony that were highly prejudicial to the commercial community, causing much distress, and in some cases ruin, of which many feel the effects to this day.

This state of things gave rise to the establishment of banks exclusively under the control of private individuals: there are two



of these corporations bearing the title of the "Cape of Good Hope Bank," with a capital of £70,000, and the "South African Bank," whose capital amounts to £100,000; the capital of each is all paid in, and no part of it can be withdrawn. The latter is not a bank of issue. A general statement of their affairs is annually made to the proprietors. Interest is paid on deposits remaining longer than a specified time. Inviolable secrecy is observed with regard to individual accounts, and each person connected with the institution signs a promise to that effect. These banks afford every facility within the bounds of prudence to those dealing with them, even carrying the spirit of accommodation so far as to keep early hours for the benefit of the agriculturists who frequent the market.

This new system is found to work admirably, and pays handsome dividends to the proprietors. It gratified me to learn that the public of Cape Town is chiefly indebted to Isaac Chase, Esq., the United States consul, for the adoption of this banking system. I had many interesting conversations with him on the subject, and also conversed with others, inhabitants of the colony, who expressed themselves highly pleased with the success of these institutions, while at the same time they acknowledged their obligations to our commercial agent.

The Cape colony, both as to soil and climate, is well adapted to the raising of all descriptions of wines, from the light German and French, to those of Madeira and Sherry.

Wheat and maize are also cultivated, particularly on the mountains near the Cape, where these grains grow in great perfection, and are raised in sufficient quantities to meet the consumption of the colony, and to be exported in considerable quantity to the Mauritius. The wheat now used is of a hard and flinty kind, and effectually resists the attacks of insects, as well as the rust, which were formerly troublesome.

The other chief productions are fruit, oil, and provisions.

The ox used in Africa seems to me to be of an entirely different breed from the animal we are accustomed to see in our country. Their legs are much longer in proportion to their bodies, lank, and bare bones, with immense horns; and their gait, instead of a slow walk, is often a trot.

The whole of the foreign trade of the colony passes through Cape Town. The value of imports is estimated at one and a half million sterling, and that of exports amounts to upwards of a million. The vessels engaged in this trade number about six hundred, whose tonnage amounts to one hundred and eighty thousand tons. The total revenue from customs, in the year 1840, was forty-two thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven pounds. The exports consist of wine, wool, ivory, whale-oil, hides, tallow, and aloes. These are either brought to Cape Town from the interior in wagons, or in small vessels from Algoa Bay. They are sold by auction, in the market-place, every Saturday. This mode of effecting sales is almost universal. The services of auctioneers are of course in request, and in addition to their legitimate trade they receive

deposits and make advances on merchandise committed to their charge. The government taxes on sales by auction amount to a large sum, and no article can be sold unless a tax is paid ; for any infraction of this law there is a heavy penalty, to be collected by the market-master, who is appointed by the government, and who superintends the collection of the dues according to a tariff which is published.

In the inhabitants of Cape Town, although one sees a great variety of costume and figure, yet a true Hottentot of full blood is said to be but rarely met with. Some, indeed, were pointed out as such ; but although they seemed to have the distinguishing marks that are generally impressed upon us as characteristic, yet on further inquiry they did not prove to be really so.



HOTTENTOTS.

The men are represented as being very much attached to their sheepskin cloak or caross. Those that we saw were remarkable for very high and prominent cheek-bones and a sharp chin ; they are not much inclined to steady employment : the attending of cattle, and the indolent and wandering life in which they pass their time, suit their disposition. They at times hire themselves out to the farmers, receiving cattle as wages. In the colony they do not bear a very high character for honesty and faithfulness. They are expert drivers of wagons, but are otherwise careless and inattentive. They are deemed an improvident race, though there are some instances of their showing great attachment to individuals who have treated them well. Their numbers now are variously stated ; but little

dependence is to be placed on the accounts given, as is evident by their ranging from ten to thirty thousand.

Upwards of thirty thousand slaves in the colony have been manumitted ; but the success of these as free labourers is by no means encouraging. The cooleys or bearers have regular employment, but the great majority of these are Malays or people from India.

I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with Mr. Thompson, the intelligent African traveller, to whom the world is indebted for his interesting accounts of the Bushmen, and the chief knowledge we have of the interior of the colony.

The colonial government has of late years had much trouble with the Caffre tribes on the eastern limits of the colony. These have frequently made incursions, and driven off the cattle of the settlers, in revenge for the injuries they have sustained from the whites. The usual result is taking place ; here, as elsewhere, civilised man is driving the savage before him, and occupying their hunting-grounds for permanent agriculture. The missionaries have in some cases pushed their establishments among these savage races, and from them the accounts of the Caffres have been mostly derived. Their appearance as well as character seem to indicate a totally different origin from the negro and Hottentot tribes. One of the marked peculiarities about them is that they avoid marrying the women of their own tribe, preferring to purchase wives from their neighbours, for whom they barter their cattle. Tamboukie women are preferred, although they are described as very ugly, being short, stout in the body, and having strong muscular limbs.

Those who have visited the country of the Caffres, describe them as extremely hospitable, and very cheerful in their dispositions. They mostly go naked, particularly during the heat of summer, though they wear the caross of skin in the winter. Their arms consist of the spear and club, with a shield of bull's-hide to protect the person. Their principal food is the milk of their herds, which they value beyond anything else : they are a pastoral people, and the cattle-fold is considered the great place of honour, so much so that their chiefs are always found to occupy it. They have of late years obtained many horses : formerly they used the ox for riding, and this animal is said to have been even trained by them for the race.

The part of South Africa occupied by the Caffres enjoys a delightful climate, and they consequently need but little protection from the weather ; and their huts are rudely constructed.

During our stay we visited, as all strangers do, the estate of Constantia ; it is situated about thirteen miles from Cape Town. There are three small estates that bear this name, viz. : High, Great, and Little Constantia. The country we passed through, although barren and sandy, was apparently well settled : the village of Wynberg is the residence of many persons who come here to enjoy the delightful air that generally blows from the eastward ; most of the residences are pretty cottages, and some have the appearance of handsome villas ; they all have an air of neatness and comfort about

them. Oaks and the pine are almost the only trees met with, and one is somewhat surprised that even these should be found; for the country is, to appearance, a barren waste, and many miles of it are quite unproductive for agriculture. The scarlet heath, blue oxalis, and the yellow Composita, not only enliven this waste, but give it somewhat the character of the flowery prairies of Oregon. The sandy soil looked like the sea-shore, and bears indubitable marks of having been once covered by the ocean.

The estates of Constantia lie east of the Table Mountain, on False Bay, and from their peculiar situation are adequately watered by the mists condensed by that lofty mountain. The soil of these estates is far from being rich, but is rather a light and in some places a gravelly soil. The graperies lie for the most part on the slope to the south-east, while some are situated on the low lands, which are carefully ditched to preserve them dry. They are divided into fields of some four or five acres each; the grape-vines are planted in rows four feet apart, they are never permitted to grow higher than three feet, and the whole is kept free from grass and weeds. In the spring, the vines are pruned; the grapes come to maturity in April; while they are growing, all unnecessary leaves and sprouts are removed, to give free access to the sun and air, and full advantage of the growth of the parent stock.

The grapes are allowed to remain on the vines until almost converted into raisins: they are then carefully examined, and all the decayed and bruised ones removed, before being gathered. The same process is used for expressing the grape here as at Madeira; but they have in some places advanced a step, and use the screw-press. The buildings for the storage of the wines are of one story, and arranged into three apartments; two of these are appropriated to the manufacture of the wine, and the third to that which is kept ripening for sale. The wines are of four kinds, Pontac, Frontignac, and the white and red Constantia. These are named in the order of their celebrity and price, which is usually a fixed one: the wine here is sold by the aam and half aam, equivalent to a barrel and half barrel; the cost for the last quantity is one hundred dollars for the first kind, eighty-five for the second, seventy-five for the third, and sixty for the fourth. To L. V. Renen, Esq., the proprietor of the High Constantia, we are indebted for many attentions. The grounds of Constantia were ornamented with some plaster statues of Hottentots and Caffres.

The Cape observatory, famous from the labours of Sir John Herschel, on the southern constellations, is now in charge of T. Maclear, Esq., who was at the time of our visit absent, being engaged in the measurement of an arc of the meridian.

The botanists attached to the Expedition attempted, during our stay, to ascend to the top of Table Mountain; but having taken a path different from that usually pursued, they were arrested by the perpendicular wall when about six hundred feet below the top. A great collection of botanical specimens amply repaid them for their disappointment. They visited the valley between Table Mountain and the Devil's Peak, and found it to consist of a dry spongy soil,

densely covered with Rutaceæ, intermixed with low bushes of heath, Thymelacææ, Diosmas, and Compositæ, having a close resemblance and analogy to the upland bogs of New Zealand.

The drives around Cape Town are pleasant; the one to Green Point is the most agreeable: this is a straggling village, with the houses having pretty gardens in front, laid out in the English style: the distant view of the ocean, with the heavy surf breaking upon the rocky coast, are fine objects to seaward. The sides and tops of the hills in the rear are bare of trees, but the roads are lined with Cacti of large growth, giving to the scenery a decidedly tropical character. Green Point has a municipal government, and elects its commissioner and ward-masters in the same manner as Cape Town. The light-house is within this district: it is quite unworthy of the name, being decidedly the most inferior British establishment I have seen. This surprised me the more, because there is here a great necessity for a brilliant light.

There is a commercial exchange at Cape Town, possessing a public library, consisting of about thirty thousand volumes, and containing a reading-room, as well as a large hall, which is used for the public meetings and festivities of the inhabitants.

Different sects of Christians are vying with each other, to carry civilisation and the gospel to the tribes in the interior; but, as usual, there are many who deny the purity of their principles, and spread scandalous reports concerning their operations.

The walks near the town are pretty, and kept in neat order. One that leads along the brook in the rear of the town, whose banks are occupied by hosts of washerwomen, is peculiarly picturesque; as soon as you ascend to the top of the hill, you overlook the town, bay, and shipping, and gain a view of the sandy plain and distant mountains, with Robben's Island and Green Point in the distance.

Among the objects of interest at the Cape, is the Botanical Garden of the Baron von Ludwig. To his liberality we are much indebted for plants and seeds; and in fact everything that our botanists desired was placed at their disposition. The garden is surrounded by a brick wall, and situated near the foot of the Lion's Rump; its soil was originally poor, but it has been much enriched by manure. The collection of plants, both native and exotic, is good, but the season of flowers was over. The native bulbs, which form the great beauty of the collections here, had passed, and but a few *Amaryllidæ*, and some varieties of the *Oxalis*, remained in bloom. Many curious specimens of African plants were noticed, particularly some *Zamias*, *Strelitzias*, *Aloes*, and *Testudinarias*. Of the former we brought home a fine specimen, whose fruit, which resembles in shape a large pine-apple, is eaten by the Bushmen, and is said to be palatable when properly prepared. The collection of East Indian plants was in fine order, and numerous specimens of the Cacti attracted our notice.

The portion of ground allotted as a flower-garden contains a fine collection of roses and dahlias, of ornamental shrubs and annuals. There is also a vegetable garden, while fruit-trees are interspersed here and there throughout the whole. The proprietor furnishes

tickets of admission to all who desire them; but his rules and regulations as to the hour of entrance, and respecting the police of the garden, must be strictly observed.

The plants furnished us by the Baron have flourished admirably since our return.

If one were to place full reliance on the assertions of its inhabitants, Cape Town and the surrounding country possess a perfection of climate to be met with in no other part of the world; but this, it is to be regretted, is not fully corroborated by the testimony of the meteorological registers that have been kept, as well as the experience of those who have written upon the subject.

The population of the Cape colony, by the returns of 1841, was one hundred and fifty-three thousand, on an area of one hundred and nine thousand eight hundred and sixty-four square miles. The deaths amount annually to about one in forty. The coloured population exceeds the white by about ten thousand. Landed estates in the colony are generally held by those cultivating them, under a lease and not in fee. The early settlers had not sufficient funds to enable them to purchase as large farms as were necessary, and the present system was in consequence resorted to. The leases, however, were made perpetual, and the farms held under this tenure are known in the colony as "Loan Farms;" they contain about three square miles, and there are many of this description still existing: these are considered as desirable tenures, being good as long as the rent is regularly paid, which is generally at the low rate of ten dollars for the tract. The lands, however, about the Cape, and in the Cape district, were obtained by grants, and are now known as "Gratuity Farms."

There are likewise freehold estates, which consist of a small farm, not much exceeding one hundred acres. These, I was told, were in the immediate vicinity of Cape Town. They were usually obtained by purchase of the first settlers.

The system of quit-rents is in perpetuity, and the rent is made to depend upon the quality and circumstances of the crop. These are the largest kind of estates, and seldom include less than five to eight thousand acres.

The sale or transfer of land was also novel to us. No land can be sold, unless the persons make application at the Cape, to officers appointed, called commissioners, whose duty it is to see that all liens on the land, such as bonds and mortgages, are paid up; and the liabilities are fully protected; and the person wishing to sell must have permission of the one who may hold any claim on the estate, before he can legally dispose of his property; and the consent of the mortgagee must be obtained in writing before the debt can be transferred with the property.

On the 17th, we got under way and passed through the northern channel, at a short distance from Robben's Island, which is now used as a place of confinement for criminals, who are employed in the quarries.

As we cleared the island, objects to seaward were seen refracted in a manner that I had never before observed so distinctly. A ship

about three miles distant in the offing, was seen vertically and horizontally refracted at the same time. Her courses and topsails appeared ill-defined, shapeless and quivering; her bowsprit and head-spars formed curves, while her jib and flying-jib were drawn out in nearly horizontal lines. Above, her topgallant-sails and royals were seen perfectly well defined; a distinct line of bluish haze divided them from the lower sails, and could be traced about sixty degrees on each side, until it joined with the horizon. The thermometer at the mast-head marked  $73^{\circ}$ , while that on the deck stood at no more than  $59^{\circ}$ .

We now shaped our course for St. Helena, which I was desirous of reaching at the earliest day, in order to intercept the two brigs, and if a further supply of bread could be obtained there, to proceed with them directly for the United States.

Our passage to St. Helena was of the ordinary length, thirteen days; we had very light winds and a very smooth sea. Northerly currents generally prevailed, though at times setting to the eastward and westward of that point. On the 30th of April, in the latitude of  $23^{\circ}$  S., and longitude  $2^{\circ} 40'$  E., we entered the trades, from which time, until our arrival at St. Helena on the 1st of May, we experienced no currents.

The appearance of the island disappointed us: its height and size were much less than we anticipated. It is but a bare and barren rock, rising abruptly from the sea; and the only thing remarkable is the succession of batteries, which are seen occupying every nook and corner where cannon could be placed, from the water-line to the highest peak. All now serve but to recall to mind the extraordinary man for whose safe-keeping so much cost and care had been bestowed. From the outward view of St. Helena, it seems scarcely necessary to have incurred so much expense and provided such means for the safe-keeping of Napoleon; the island itself being almost inaccessible on all sides; its bare rocks rising several hundred feet perpendicularly from the water. To reach the roadstead it is necessary to pass within a short distance of the rocks, and close along them until the valley of Jamestown is reached, which offers the only anchorage. Here it is often difficult to procure a good berth, as the roadstead is frequently crowded with vessels.

The interior of the island of St. Helena is uninteresting, and when compared with those we had recently visited, may be said to be devoid of beauty. It possesses nothing to recommend it to the notice of a stranger, except its connection with Napoleon's exile. It is said this island was first suggested as a place of confinement for the great prisoner by the Duke of Wellington, who had himself been detained there for some months, while on his way from India, and was forcibly impressed with its natural strength and adaptation for his confinement.

To the circumstance of the residence of Napoleon this island owes not only its chief celebrity; but, as a consequence, its temporary growth and prosperity; and with the removal of his remains, St. Helena will revert to what it was formerly.

On his first landing the ex-emperor occupied the very apartments

formerly used by the Duke of Wellington ; but was, the next day, at his own request, removed to the "Briars," a retired country cottage, situated in the small "bosom" at the head of the gully of Jamestown.

The only collection of houses is Jamestown ; and although situated in a narrow gorge, it is the best locality on the island for a town. The space occupied by it has been as much improved as was possible, and the place has rather a cheerful appearance ; more, however, from the diversified character of its inhabitants, than from the neatness and architecture of its buildings. The variety of costume is greater than one would expect, ranging from the well-dressed English soldier to the oriental costumes of India and China. There are many quadroons, who are said to be descendants of the natives of Madagascar, brought here originally by the Dutch. They were pointed out to me as remarkable for their beauty, and many of them have certainly, it must be acknowledged, well-developed and even handsome forms ; which, from appearances, they are fond of exhibiting, and to which their style of dress is well adapted.

Extortion is here carried to its height, and although the stay of the stranger is only for a few hours, the time is sufficient to make him aware that he has submitted to some exorbitant demand if his curiosity have led him to visit Longwood and the tomb of Napoleon.

Our consul, Mr. Carrol, was kind enough to make arrangements for our visiting Longwood and the tomb, and it was decided that we should set out at an early hour the next morning.

Captain Hudson, Mr. Waldron, and myself, accordingly landed at the jetty early the next day, and found waiting for us a small wagon with two stout horses, in which we seated ourselves, and were driven to the American consulate. We were there joined by Mr. Carrol, and taking the eastern road, commenced ascending the narrow track leading up the side of the cliff. The road seemed to have been carried over some places with great difficulty ; heavy walls were built in some places to form the road, while in others the path was blasted out of the rock. As we ascended, we had a bird's-eye view of the town and the gorge in which it lies. The houses and their inhabitants were alike reduced in size, and we experienced the accuracy of the poetical assertion, "that distance lends enchantment to the view," for from our elevated position all appeared neat and clean. The hospitals for the troops are situated in the upper end of the valley, in a space too contracted for comfort. Their appearance is strongly in contrast with that of those usually attached to British garrisons, and led to some inquiries on my part as to the necessity for their confined position. The island being usually healthy, and infectious diseases but seldom prevailing, quarantine is performed at Lemon Valley, or rather it was used for that purpose during our visit ; a number of recaptured slaves, among whom the small-pox had made its appearance, being detained there.

The first object of interest that presents itself as connected with the residence of Napoleon, is the cottage at the Briars. It is situated a small dell at the head of the gully, and has attached to it some



ten acres of ground, laid out in walks and flower-beds. There are many similar spots on the island, which are known by the name of "bosoms;" none of them, however, so striking, nor having such an air of quiet and comfort as that just mentioned. Its beauties are more strongly impressed by the marked contrast they afford to the arid and barren rocks of the gully side, up which we had been making our ascent under a burning sun. The only vegetation on the surrounding hills was a few Cacti and wild vines, and some firs that were imported from Scotland about fifty years ago. The high ground of the island was of equal altitude, there being but few points above the general level. On reaching it we felt a sensible change of temperature, the air becoming raw and disagreeable. Turning to the eastward, we proceeded three miles along the road, and then turned into the path which leads to the quiet dell in which the tomb is situated. The road soon became so steep that we were obliged to alight from the carriage, and descend on foot to the cottage occupied by the widow Talbot, who furnishes refreshments to visitors, and who takes care to let it be known that it is customary to pay for them, whether you partake or not. Her continued whinings about her poverty, the injustice of the British government, and the unfulfilled promises of the Prince de Joinville, are singularly out of place, and at variance with the thoughts with which one's mind is occupied when visiting such a spot. In the rear of the cottage, at the end of the dell, and about thirty yards distant, is the tomb.

On the banks of the dell, a few yews, cedars, and weeping-willows are growing: while in the centre stands the old and now leafless willow, which seems, like the emperor, to have been killed by the treatment it has received. A spring of pure and delicious water bubbles from the rock near by; to it we retreated to avoid the annoyance occasioned by the monotonous whinings of an old sergeant. He talked continually of the length, breadth, and depth of the vault, told us of how many slabs it was formed, how they were cemented together, how opened, and many other particulars of so little importance, that I shall not trouble my readers by repeating them. We at last put an end to the garrulity by paying him the expected shilling, and walking out of hearing. This is an annoyance to which all who have visited the tomb have been subject, and which does away with half the satisfaction of the pilgrimage. We drank some water from the spring, received a bouquet of the Napoleon geranium from the little girls, and returned to the cottage, which we found crowded with Dutch officers, who were devouring the widow's eatables, as if determined to have the worth of their money; from their great appetites she told us that she anticipated but little profit. Scarcely had they finished eating, when their pipes were put in requisition, and a cloud of smoke not only filled the apartment, but issued in all directions from its doors and windows. I have seldom seen so little regard paid to the comfort of others, or so little respect shown to the resting-place of the mighty dead, as by these officers.

After satisfying the claims of the widow, and disposing of certain

relics obtained through her as marks of special favour, we departed for Longwood, about two miles further on. The road is good and nearly level, running along the top of a barren ridge; on our way we passed the "Tap-room," immediately opposite to which was the dwelling of the Count Bertrand. The horizon is visible from the road, both to the north and east; and on either side the eye wanders beneath into the deep and inaccessible gullies, which from their gloomy and uninviting character have obtained the appropriate name of the Devil's Gorge, &c.

The day on which we paid this visit was called by the inhabitants a fine one, but we thought the air damp and chilly, and were glad to draw our cloaks closely around us. We soon reached the gate, and were stopped until we paid the usual fee of two shillings sterling for each person. The house is at present leased by the government to a Captain Mason, a retired army officer, for one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, and by his order the entrance fee is demanded before the gate is opened. Mr. Carrol pointed out to us the sites of the camps of observation and other spots in the neighbourhood, interesting from associations connected with the residence of Napoleon. As we drove towards the house everything wore a neglected look, to all appearance intentional.

Longwood is now but little better than a barn; the glass of the windows is broken, and the outward walls much disfigured. The door at which visitors are admitted is covered with a small latticed veranda, and leads into what is called the billiard-room, although it seems much too small ever to have been used for that purpose; its walls are covered with scribbling, and its general appearance is dirty and neglected. The next apartment is about fourteen by seventeen feet, said to have been used as a dining-room, and in which Napoleon died; it is now occupied by a patent thrashing and winnowing machine, and was strewed with chaff and straw. The adjoining room had been used as a library; its present state was disgusting, and it seemed as if it was appropriated to the hatching of chickens. The bath, bed, and dressing-rooms which he occupied at the commencement of his illness, are now in part used as a stable. The place in which his body lay in state contains eight stalls, five of which were occupied by horses and cattle.

If the design had been to desecrate as much as possible the habitation that had been occupied by the fallen emperor, it could not have been more effectually accomplished; but whatever may be the motive, whether intentional or otherwise, it certainly redounds little to the credit of the British nation. The miserable condition of Longwood when we visited it was a subject of general animadversion. The money derived from the lease of the property is paid into the queen's treasury, no part of this small sum being retained to keep the building in repair; nor are there any conditions in the lease that compel the lessee to do it. It is with regret I am compelled to state that the lessee is a military man, and an officer in the British army.

Longwood is bleak and exposed: the damp trade-winds sweep past it continually, and but few days in the year are without either

mist or rain. The valley of Jamestown is known to be dry and healthy ; there are some other spots also on the island that enjoy a climate as fine as any on the globe. One of these might have been chosen as a residence, which would have proved much more congenial to the taste, and better suited to the constitution of the emperor. Plantation House, for instance, the country-seat of the governor, enjoys, by all accounts, a delightful climate.

The grounds of Longwood cannot be called pretty, but from the constant moisture the herbage is greener than in other parts of the island. There are no trees, but the shrubbery is dense around the gardens. The new house at Longwood is built of yellow sandstone, one story in height, and is situated some hundred yards on the western declivity, and is, in some measure, sheltered from the easterly winds. It contains a handsome suite of rooms, and, when compared with the old house, seems quite a palace. At the time of our visit it was occupied as a magnetic observatory. The house has never been finished ; the death of the emperor of course rendering its completion unnecessary. It is said that during his life he never visited it, nor would he allow any one to consult him about its plan, declaring that he would not remove to it.

Napoleon seems to have engrafted himself on the memory of the islanders ; and all the events and little incidents occurring to him during his residence, are remembered and cherished by them with pleasure. His chief complaint regarded the system of espionage under which he was placed, from the hour in which he gave himself up to the English to that of his death. It has been asserted, and up to this time without contradiction, that Sir George Cockburn, who commanded the *Bellerophon*, in which vessel Bonaparte was transported to St. Helena, was ordered to make minutes of every conversation that took place during the voyage. These memoranda have been already published in Boston, and their authenticity, although denied, seems to be unquestionable ; for the publication emanated from the private secretary of Sir George ; who, while making out one fair copy of the minutes, made another for himself. Although the ministry may have thought themselves justified in taking this course at the time, yet it seems, at this time, scarcely reconcilable with a high sense of honour ; and notwithstanding Sir George may have considered it necessary to obey implicitly his orders, still the fact that he lent himself to such a service must injure his reputation.

In justice to Sir Hudson Lowe, it must be stated, according to what I heard at the island, that his treatment of his royal captive was in strict conformity to his instructions, and that, as far as his orders were concerned, he was allowed no discretion. Many of the inhabitants know that he tried in several ways to ameliorate the condition of his prisoner, but he was not permitted to do so.

I trust that what I have said upon this subject will not be construed as disrespectful to a high-minded and friendly government, or be casting any odium on the many honourable and courteous British officers it has been my good fortune to meet in many parts of the globe, and who have extended to me and my officers the most

grateful civilities; but I could not forbear the expression of my sentiments when I contemplate the prison-house of Napoleon, and the ignoble condition and uses to which it is put.

The officer in charge of the magnetic observatory complained that it was badly placed, and that both his instruments and observations suffered from the constant change of temperature, and the dampness of the situation. He politely showed us the instruments, which were in a detached building; after which we returned to Longwood, and soon after left it, glad to escape from the mist and driving wind that enveloped it.

From Longwood we took the road to Plantation House, which leads across the island, making numerous turns as it ascends and descends the gullies. Many pretty dells were occupied by neat cottages, in whose gardens were cultivated potatoes and other vegetables. Of the former, two crops were obtained within the year, and a ready sale is found for them to the vessels that visit the island. On our arrival at the porter's lodge of Plantation House, we were informed that the governor, Colonel Trelawney, had gone to Jamestown, and that the ladies of the family were not visible. We, therefore, so far as time permitted, examined the grounds, which are laid out with taste, and contained a good collection of foreign trees. Some of these were very flourishing; and it was curious to see many trees of European species growing side by side with those of Australia.

Our botanists were of opinion that the tradition which prevails, of the island, at the time of its discovery, having been covered with wood, is erroneous; and that the story of the destruction of this forest by goats, is equally so. The barrenness of this island is well illustrated by the difficulty with which young trees are preserved from the ravages of sheep or goats. Pasture is so scarce, that but few cattle are kept, and these are chiefly importations from the Cape of Good Hope. Their scarcity may be judged from the price of beef, which sells for twenty-five cents a pound; and it may be as well to state, that to strangers the prices of all other eatables are equally exorbitant.

From the road near Plantation House, we had a good view of the gully in which Jamestown is situated, together with the ravines extending into it from the interior of the island. Descending, we passed over a portion of the island which is little better than a barren rock. Yet in some places comfortable-looking houses were seen, and here and there a beer-house, or tap-room, quite in the English style, and, from all accounts, as great nuisances as low taverns are in any country. We finally reached the fortification on Ladder Hill, and made the descent of the zigzag road on the side of the cliff, passing a place called Colonel Pearce's Revenge, where the road is completely overhung by large masses of rock, which seem ready to fall. The rapid pace of the horses, the frequent sharp turns, and the overhanging cliff, excite some alarm in those not accustomed to them; and I must confess that I was quite satisfied when we passed the last turn, and were safely landed at the consulate.

The population of the island is about four thousand. It consists of whites, who, if the garrison be deducted from their numbers, form

the smallest portion of the inhabitants; of negroes and their descendants of the mixed blood, and some few Chinese. The negroes were brought by the East India Company from Madagascar, and, with their descendants, now form the largest portion of the population. The number of vessels that touch annually at the island is now about eight hundred.

We embarked in the afternoon, regretting that our time was so limited, and that no opportunity was afforded us to return the kind attentions bestowed upon us by the consul and his family.

As we were getting under way, it became evident that many of the seamen had obtained supplies of grog from the shore, in spite of all the precautionary measures that had been taken. One, in consequence, fell from the main-top, but, fortunately for him, while falling, struck a portion of the rigging, and was thus canted into the sea, from which he was picked up uninjured. When the anchor was up we bore away to the northward, under all sail, with a favourable breeze.

As we passed through the tropics, many opportunities were afforded us for viewing the zodiacal light, both in the morning and the evening. Its general appearance was that of a well-defined cone, whose height, as marked by the stars, remained nearly constant at  $40^{\circ}$  elevation, and at the base  $15^{\circ}$ . Its first appearance after sunset was like a broad semicircular band of light, the brightness of which increased as the evening closed in, when its shape became that of a well-defined cone. The light was sometimes equally diffused, and at others appeared as if radiating through the cone. Its intensity varied from a light equal to that given by a bright aurora to that of a comet, the centre of the cone being often the least brilliant; and during a partially cloudy evening it was sometimes so bright as to obscure stars of the second magnitude. Its appearance in the morning was better defined than in the evening, and the light was more of a blue than a yellow tint; the altitude of the cone was greater, and its base of less extent. As we changed our latitude, the position of the apex of the cone remained stationary, but its inclination varied.

On the 9th of May we crossed the magnetic equator, in latitude  $9^{\circ} 20' S.$ , and in longitude  $16^{\circ} 40' W.$

On the 2nd of June, we had reached latitude  $29^{\circ} N.$ , and longitude  $68^{\circ} W.$ ; and the wind, which had been gradually hauling from the northward and eastward round to the south-south-west, began to fail us. We had light and variable breezes from this day until the 8th, when we reached the neighbourhood of the Gulf Stream, and experienced the weather that is peculiar to it. The lightning was very vivid, and the rain fell in torrents; its temperature was  $63^{\circ}$ . In the latter part of the day it blew a strong gale from the eastward. I regretted this much, as it was my intention to make full experiments on the deep temperature and the velocity of the current in the Stream; but the roughness of the sea and violence of the wind prevented it. The close proximity to our port also, and the increasing impatience of all on board to reach their homes, forbade all unnecessary delay. The experiments we did make gave a difference of three degrees of

temperature, between the surface and one hundred fathoms depth. The highest temperature of the surface experienced while crossing the stream was 79°; when we entered it was 77°. We were seven hours in crossing it, and found, as in our first passage, that the inner edge was the warmest. During the next half hour after leaving the Gulf Stream, the surface temperature fell twelve degrees, and so continued until we got on soundings, when it rose again some three or four degrees. The morning of the 9th was foggy, which rather tried our patience, but by firing guns we attracted the attention of the pilot-boats, and on the fog clearing away a little, discovered one close to us. A pilot now boarded and took charge of the ship, and at noon on the 10th of June, 1842, anchored us off Sandy Hook, where a steamer came alongside soon afterwards, and took us in tow. After stopping half an hour at the quarantine ground, to receive the visit of the health officer, we held our course towards the city of New York.

Before I left the Vincennes off the Battery, the crew were called to muster, when I expressed to them my thanks for the manner in which they had conducted themselves during the cruise, and stated the confident belief entertained by me, that they would receive from the government such rewards as the successful performance of the cruise, and their long and perilous services, entitled them to. A national salute was then fired, and my pennant hauled down, the command of the ship being given to Captain Hudson, who proceeded with her to the Navy Yard. As soon as she was safely moored, all the men who could be spared were allowed to go on shore, with their bags and hammocks. A happier set of fellows than they were is not often to be met with; being relieved from their long confinement on shipboard, and the severe discipline of a man-of-war.

Those who have perused this narrative of the events of the Expedition, I confidently believe, will see what meed of honour or reward is justly due to the officers and crews who faithfully served out the cruise. All of the former, and many of the latter, are still to be found on the rolls of the navy, and to them, I trust that the applause of a grateful country has been only delayed, not wholly lost.

On our arrival home, the health of the prisoner Vendovi had so far declined, that it was necessary to place him in the Naval Hospital at New York. Every attention was paid him there, but very soon afterward he expired.

The Porpoise and Oregon had, in the mean time, proceeded to Rio Janeiro, where they executed their instructions, and having obtained the necessary supplies, sailed for the United States. After leaving the equator, their route differed but little from that pursued by the Vincennes. They arrived at New York on the 30th of June, 1842.

## APPENDIX.

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TO CAPTAIN JAMES C. ROSS,  
COMMANDING H.B.M. SHIPS EREBUS AND TERROR.

U. S. FLAG-SHIP VINCENTNA,  
*New Zealand, Bay of Islands, April 5, 1840.*

MY DEAR SIR,—I need not tell you how much I feel interested in your cruise. From the interest you took in the outfit of our Expedition, I am sure you well know the interest it excites, and how much this feeling is heightened by a knowledge on my part of what you have undertaken, and have to go through. This prompts me to a desire to be useful to you, if possible, and to give you my experience of the last season among the ice, whither you are bound.

Your cruise will be an arduous one, no matter how you may be enlightened on your course; but you have so much knowledge of the ice, and the manner of treating it, that it appears almost presumptuous in me to sit down to give you any hints relative to it. But, believing as I do, that the ice of the Antarctic is of a totally different character from that of the Arctic, I venture to offer you a few hints that may be useful to you in your undertaking; and although my instructions are binding upon me relative to discoveries, I am nevertheless aware that I am acting as my government would order, if they could have anticipated the case, knowing how deeply it feels the liberal assistance and great interest evinced by all the societies and distinguished men of Great Britain, to promote and aid this, our first undertaking, in the great cause of science and usefulness; and I must add the pleasure it gives to me personally, to be able to return, though in a small degree, the great obligation I myself feel under to you, and many others, the promoters of your undertaking.

WINDS.—The winds for the first fortnight of our time, to the eastward of longitude 140° E., were from the northward and westward, light generally, accompanied occasionally with clear weather for hours, and again with dense fogs of short duration, with a long swell from the same quarter.

After passing longitude 140° E., or to the westward of it, we experienced fine weather, with south-east winds and occasional snow-squalls, lasting but ten or fifteen minutes, and a dry healthy atmosphere.

The barometer, during our stay on the coast, was always indicative of wind by its depression, and was a true guide. Its mean standing was 28 in. The temperature surprised me: we seldom if ever had it above 30°, even in the sun at mid-day, and I do not think that three times it was found above 35°.

Gales come on very suddenly, and are always attended with snow, sleet and thick fogs, rendering it extremely hazardous; for one must be found when they do come, more or less surrounded with ice-islands. They sometimes last for thirty-six hours. After they set in, you may calculate that they will blow strong for at least half that time. The nearer you are to the land, the more violent they are, though not of such long duration. Fine weather usually precedes them, and we found them to happen, and the weather to be more changeable, near the full and change, although I am no believer in the lunar influences upon the weather.

CURRENTS.—During the whole of our stay along the icy coast, we found no perceptible current by the reckoning and current log. During a gale of wind I was induced to believe that some existed, from the short sea that was formed, thinking there was more than was to be expected. Tides on such an extent of coast there undoubtedly must be, but of little strength, or we should have perceived them.

In many of the icy bays we were stationary for a sufficient time to perceive them if they had been of any magnitude, and where the current was repeatedly tried.

The winds have their effect upon the loose drift-ice, or that which is detached from the icy barrier. Owing to a change of wind from south-east to north, with a fresh breeze, the Peacock became embayed, and the ice forced in upon her, which brought about the accident. The northerly winds are always accompanied with a heavy swell, and her escape is attributable to a rare exercise of good seamanship and perseverance. If Captain Hudson's ship had been as adamant itself, he is of opinion she would have been ground to atoms by a longer exposure; her stem was abraded to within an inch and a half of the wood-ends.

There are places in which the barrier is within the floe-ice several miles. I enclose you the mean temperature during the summer months.

You will see there is but little chance of the ice melting or disappearing, as from accounts frequently takes place in the Arctic Ocean. Your time, being unlimited, will allow you to wait some days in a situation to make experiments.

I frequently found myself so closely beset that I thought it next to impossible to escape, and if the wind had not been extremely constant in its direction, I should have been shut up or much injured; as it was, I escaped with scarcely a scratch, although we took some heavy thumps.

The chart will show you the tracks and state of the ice. It was constructed as I went on, and the ice-islands laid down by carefully kept diagrams by the officer of the deck during his watch. This I found gave me more confidence in proceeding, and facilities in case of having to return.

MAGNETIC POLE.—I consider we have approached very near to the pole. Our dip was 87° 30' S., and the compasses on the ice very sluggish; this was in longitude 147° 30' E., and latitude 67° 4' S. Our variation, as accurately as it could be observed on the ice, we made 12° 30' E. It was difficult to get a good observation, on account of the sluggishness of our compasses. About one hundred miles to the westward, we crossed the magnetic meridian.



The pole, without giving you accurate deductions, I think my observations will place in about latitude  $70^{\circ}$  S., and longitude  $140^{\circ}$  E.

On the meridian of  $140^{\circ}$  E., you will find a small bay, partly formed by ice islands and rocks, which I have named Piner's Bay, and I think among the rocks you may find a snug little harbour. I was driven out of the bay by a gale of wind; sounding about one and a half mile from the shore in thirty fathoms. The icebergs being aground, form good shelters; but I was too much exposed to venture to remain, and my object was to trace the land and the icy barrier, which I have done, as you will see it laid down on my chart.

We had delightful and clear weather ten days or a fortnight along the coast, with the wind at from south-east to south-south-west; the two latter points particularly. The drift-ice is in large pieces, so large as to give a ship an awkward thump; but when I found it tolerably open I have run through it to get to clear water, and in hopes of making the land, but our progress was soon stopped by the firm barrier, impenetrable, through which there is no passing.

I am of opinion that there is little movement of the ice during the season. Strong gales may change its position a trifle, but I think not materially.

The only prospect of nearing the land is through a sea well studded with large icebergs, nearly thirty or forty miles in width; and I generally found that we got nearer to the shore in those places than elsewhere. One thing I must tell you, as respects filling your water: you will sometimes find a pond of delicious water on the top of an old iceberg, frozen over, but on cutting through it you will see a supply sufficient for a navy. It will save you fuel, and discomfort and cold to you, your vessels, and their crews.

I was very fortunate in the weather the latter part of the time; and indeed altogether I was scarcely a day without some observation, (except during the gales, of which we had three, occupying about eight days,) and generally half a dozen.

My time for six weeks was passed on deck, and having all daylight, I of course had constant employment, and, with the many assistants, I could make rapid progress; and you will find that no opportunity ought to be lost in this navigation, if one is to do anything. One's ship is in constant danger, and the Vincennes, a first-class sloop of seven hundred and eighty tons, it requires all the foresight and activity one is possessed of to look out for her.

I consider that I have had a most providential escape; and if this ship had not been enabled to "do everything but talk," I should not have been where I now am; but she had inspired me with so much confidence, among the coral reefs last summer, that I could put full faith in her doing her duty. I must refer you to the chart, on which I have noted remarks, variations, &c.

I should have mentioned, that in 1838 and 1839 I went south in the brig Porpoise, in order to trace Palmer's Land on its eastern side (but too late for any trial to reach high latitudes), and hoping that the lateness of the season would enable me to run some distance along it. I got within three miles of the coast, and saw it trending to the south-south-east about thirty miles; but it was so blocked up with ice as to render it impossible to get through. I have little doubt myself, in favourable seasons, Weddell's track may be followed, notwithstanding what the Frenchman may say, there being no land to which the ice is attached; and that the ice in those parts

changes very much, the currents being exceedingly strong, as I myself witnessed. I could not afford the time to be frozen up, as my other duties were and are paramount to passing the winter in such a situation. But you are differently situated, and I should advise you, by all means, to try to penetrate between longitude 35° and 45° W.

I am, &c.,

CHARLES WILKES,  
Commanding Exploring Expedition.

THE END.

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